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PREFACE

It is my purpose to write the Lives of the Governors of Minnesota, from the organization of the territory down to the present time. This period is profoundly interesting to every citizen of the state because the annals of human affairs can furnish no more glorious example of development and prosperity. The rulers of the state form a group by themselves and a deep interest is always manifested in the personal history of any citizen who, by talent, character, and the discharge of civic and public duties, arrives at the dignity of its Chief Executive.

Such a series of biographies necessarily carries with it much contemporaneous political history. If in all this the writer shall be able to record facts with accuracy, and draw inferences with candor, he will have rendered the state no inconsiderable service.

As to the fitness of the author for this special work, it should be stated that I have known intimately each and every one of the governors of the territory and state, having lived on terms of personal friendship with them all. I have not only sat at their firesides and known their home life, but from the time when, in 1860, I became Secretary of State to Governor Ramsey, I have

PREFACE.

participated in almost every campaign in the state. In company with the governors themselves and their leading organizers, I have canvassed the state, and spoken from the same platform with them in nearly every county of Minnesota. I have attended many of the nominating conventions, and have had personal knowledge of the inside workings of the political parties, their motives, purposes, hopes, defeats, such as only those who have personally shared in their councils can understand. For fifty years I have studied the progress of Minnesota and felt the thrill of its political life, and I write the lives of these sons whom she has most highly honored, not as a distant and critical spectator, but as a partner in the struggles and victories of the half-century. During all these years I have been the political associate, the comrade and friend of the governors of our state.

I am fully aware of the difficulty of preserving a strict impartiality under circumstances of personal friendship. Relations of amity, or of hostility may insensibly sway the mind. I profoundly appreciate the difficulty of writing contemporaneous annals, and still more of writing the history of men yet in the midst of affairs. The difficulty is not denied. That man yet living should, in a certain sense, read their own obituaries is not in accordance with the fitness of things. It is the penalty, however, which high position must pay.

The design of the work admitted no exception. The author can only affirm that he has been swayed by no prejudices, and was under sacred obligations to pursue the truth, as he understood it; and that if any preju-

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dices or predilections have operated upon his mind, they have been unknown to himself.

Praise bestowed upon known political adversaries, and disapproval of occasional conduct in the history of members of the writer's own party, will be taken as evidence of general impartiality. I feel, too, that I have now reached that autumnal period when a retrospect of men and events is no longer disturbed by the prejudices of the hour, for years have softened to a mellow tone the occurrences of the past.

The preparation of this work has been something more than the amusement of literary leisure seeking an agreeable occupation for a disengaged mind. I have humbly conceived it to be a duty to the state to record, from personal knowledge, matters which might otherwise perish. It should be understood that the Minnesota Historical Society has long urged me to this performance, and is largely responsible for thus trespassing upon the indulgence of the public. It was thought that the writer's personal knowledge of all our governors should be made available for public use.

I have filled some interstices with pen sketches of some other public men, who were prominent actors in the passing drama; but found it necessary to omit many equally worthy of a place in this gallery, or where would the volume end?

The portraits in this volume are from accepted family photographs taken at the time when each governor was filling the executive chair, or as near it as was possible.

PREFACE.

I am indebted to many friends for important assistance throughout this book. The vast archives of the Minnesota Historical Society, by the aid of its librarians, have been sources from which abundant information has been received. I would be wanting in courtesy if I failed publicly to thank the secretary, Dr. Warren Upham, and Mrs. Rose Barteau Dunlap, for their constant and intelligent assistance.

It also is just and proper that I should mention, as authorities carefully consulted, Eugene V. Smalley's excellent volume, "A History of the Republican Party," and other kindred papers; and "The Ancestry, Life, and Times of Hon. Henry Hastings Sibley," by Rev. Nathaniel West.

With well nigh fourscore years pressing upon me, I have yet enjoyed the literary work of this volume. Such as these sketches are, I bequeath them to my fellow citizens, as the last of my intellectual efforts, and as a final testimonial of my love and devotion to my adopted state.

JAMES H. BAKER.

Mankato, Minn., August, 1908.

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PORTRAITS.

The biography of each governor is preceded by his portrait; and the frontispiece of this volume is a portrait of the author.



ALEXANDER RAMSEY.

ALEXANDER RAMSEY

First Territorial Governor and Second State Governor, was born near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, September 8, 1815, and died in St. Paul, Minnesota, April 22, 1903. He was a Representative in Congress, from Pennsylvania, 1842-47; United States Senator, 1863-75; and Secretary of War in President Hayes' cabinet, 1879-81.

*

ALEXANDER RAMSEY

FIRST TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR

June 1, 1849, to May 15, 1853

SECOND STATE GOVERNOR

January 2, 1860, to July 10, 1863

THERE is a storied apartment in our new capitol, the governor's room, where hang the portraits of Minnesota's line of chief magistrates in silent array, from Ramsey to Johnson. It is a sort of a State Pantheon for our Minnesota gubernatorial gods. Eighteen intelligent faces gaze at you from lofty walls. In these illuminated countenances you can almost read the political history of our state. Each one seems to speak for his era, and recalls the events of his day and the battles of which he was the central figure.

Cicero once declared that death could not come to a man who had once been consul. Thus speaking within the limitations of our state, a citizen may close his career with satisfaction who has reached the highest honors of the commonwealth.

I desire to paint, as best I may in words, the portrait of Alexander Ramsey, the governor who organized the territory, to set his picture in the environment of his times, clothed in the characteristics of his marked individuality, and with notice of the more salient features

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of his achievement. Forty-four years of unbroken intimacy and friendship salute me from his grave; and this I trust will not warp my judgment, but rather the better equip me for presenting a true analysis of his character. He has already received the affectionate praises of devoted friends, and the generous voices of political opponents have celebrated his lofty character. Eulogy has exhausted her votive offerings, and I come late to glean in a field so abundantly garnered.

The work he did, the influences he set in motion, are interwoven parts of the state itself. Out of chaos he organized the territory into official forms, and breathed into its nostrils the breath of life. You cannot recite the formative periods of our history without blending his life with the threads of the story. Like the confluence of two great streams, whose waters are lost in the comingling currents, so the state and the man were borne on together.

Alexander Ramsey appeared at the right time, and under the right conditions, for his usefulness and his fame. His education, his experience, his discipline, prior to his advent on this soil as an empire builder, were such that it would seem fate herself had prepared him for his destiny.

If characters are modified by physical scenery around them, then Ramsey was fortunate in the home of his youth. He came from the grand old state of Pennsylvania, settled by the English, the Scotch, and the German. He was from the Chestnut Ridges and Laurel

ALEXANDER RAMSEY.

Hills of the lovely Susquehanna. The blue tops of the great Appalachian range filled his youthful eye. The story of William Penn had stamped its impress on the state, and Indian legends and Indian treaties were a part of the traditions of every Pennsylvania boy.

He had read, too, of the massacre of Wyoming, and his youthful imagination had been fired by Campbell's poetic description of that ruthless slaughter. He had thus inherited no love for the Indian character, and his pressing proffer to President Lincoln, to take all the responsibility of promptly hanging the convicted savages of 1862, must be interpreted in the light of the lurid flames of Wyoming.

To understand fully one who has played so great a part in our dramatic history, we must, for the hour, live in those times, see what he saw, look into the faces of his remarkable co-partners, sympathize with his trials, and rejoice in his successes.

Alexander Ramsey was born near Harrisburg, Pa., September 8, 1815. His paternal ancestry were Scotch, and his mother of German origin, a racial combination difficult to excel. An orphan at ten, by the aid of a friendly relative he obtained a fair education, which was greatly enhanced by his strong love for reading and study. He subsequently became a carpenter by trade; he taught school, and studied law.

That he did not receive a complete collegiate education, I think, is happy for us all, for then he might have contented himself in filling a professor's chair,

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and measured out his days in expounding the metres of Homer and Virgil. The self-taught American, like Franklin and Lincoln, most often develops the vigorous and broad life so useful to the nation. Nor was there ever a better illustration of the wholesome training of a young man in the great common school of experience and self-study, which is the nursery and stronghold of American democracy, than we have in the example of young Ramsey. He was one of those practical men who quickly avail themselves of the grand opportunities whose golden gates stand open, in this country, night and day.

He came upon the stage of active life when party strife was raging with unabated fury. The Whig and Democratic parties bitterly divided the American people. The questions about a bank, a tariff, and the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, seem to us, at this distant day, to be trivial. But politics were intense, the excitement great, and all were politicians, even the women and children. As a matter of fact, it was not so much *measures*, as *men*, that agitated and divided the people.

Jackson and Clay were the illustrious leaders, and under their respective banners the contestants were marshalled in irreconcilable antagonism. Both leaders were men of consummate tact and management. Each held his followers as with hooks of steel. Clay was the captain of the Whigs, and his graceful manners and splendid eloquence held in thrall the aspiring young men of the day. Ramsey caught the contagion which the fervid

ALEXANDER RAMSEY.

genius of Clay evoked. The Whig party was resplendent with talent, and in that atmosphere young Ramsey was matured.

The famous Harrisburg convention of 1840 met in his city. Harrison was nominated, and Clay was defeated. But the people rose as if *en masse*. Banners floated; the air was hot with acclamations; songs were sung, and even business was neglected. As upon an ocean wave, "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too," were floated into office.

A month later Harrison died. Tyler, like another Arnold, betrayed his party. Clay's heart was broken, and the Whig party was paralyzed. But the great commoner of Kentucky bore himself like a plumed knight. In the midst of these stormy times, Ramsey was rocked in the cradle of politics.

In 1840, he was secretary of the electoral college; in 1841 he was chief clerk of the House of Representatives; in 1842, he was elected to Congress, and served in the 28th and 29th Congresses. He was a substantial Whig member, social, cool, cautious, and given to practical business. He retired, voluntarily, from further service, after the close of the 29th Congress, while, singularly enough, Henry Hastings Sibley was just entering the 30th Congress as a delegate from that *terra incognita*, the territory of Minnesota.

Ramsey's career in Congress was signalized by his ardent support of the Wilmot Proviso, in its application to certain territories acquired as the result of the war

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with Mexico. His seat was next to Wilmot's in the House, and, as a matter of fact, he wrote the proviso on his desk for Wilmot, which the latter offered. No less strange is the fact that Mr. Sibley opposed the application of the Wilmot Proviso to the territory of Minnesota in the very next Congress, as "wholly superfluous."

In 1848, Ramsey was made chairman of the Whig State Central Committee of Pennsylvania, and contributed largely to the election of Zachary Taylor, the last of the Whig presidents. When that gallant soldier was inaugurated, he at once tendered the governorship of Minnesota to Alexander Ramsey. His commission bears date, April 2, 1849.

The Whig party was now moribund, dying of slavery: Clay, too, was dying, and Webster had condoned with the Slave Power. The Fugitive Slave Law was the final bolt that slew the great army which Clay and Webster had organized. Thus it happened that the brilliant party which had won Alexander Ramsey's youthful love and devotion was waning and expiring when he made his advent into the Northwest.

On the 27th day of May, 1849, the new governor arrived at the scene of his official duties. With something of poetic fitness, he came, with his young wife, from Sibley's baronial home at Mendota, where they had been guests, in an Indian birch-bark canoe. On the first day of June, 1849, he issued his official proclamation, declaring the territory duly organized.

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Minnesota thus entered her kindergarten preparation for statehood. Then followed the detail necessary to the establishment of the machinery of the new government. This was the historic starting point of the new commonwealth. These important proceedings brought Ramsey face to face with the most remarkable body of men who ever graced a frontier, Sibley, Brown, the Rices, Olmsted, Morrison, Steele, McLeod, Stevens, Renville, Borup, Kittson, Bailly.

How, at the mention of their names, the dead arise, and life starts in the stalwart forms of these primeval kings of the wilderness! If New England parades, with pride, her Puritan ancestors, with equal veneration we point to the vigorous, intrepid and superb men, who stood sponsors to the birth of our commonwealth. They were no ignoble rivals in the race which was to be run. No stronger men ever colonized a new country. They possessed that restlessness that comes of ambition, and the audacity that comes of enterprise.

Far behind these empire-builders of the Northwest, there yet appeared in the twilight of our history, other majestic forms. We behold the saintly Allouez and Marquette, glorified by their sufferings. We see Le Sueur in the valley of the St. Peter, in his journey in pursuit of gold, shrouded in mystery and romance, as imaginary as that of Jason in pursuit of the Golden Fleece.

We contemplate the reign and wars of the great fur companies, those mighty lords of the lakes of the North. These all are the paladins of our history. Following

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them came the era of the scientists, Nicollet, Pike, Schoolcraft. This brings the panorama to true historic ground. We now touch the time when some who are yet living were co-partners in our early dramatic scenes.

Inspired by these grand traditions, and surrounded by these stalwart figures, the young Pennsylvanian saw that this wilderness had an epic of thrilling interest. As he stood in this environment, what were his dreams of the future? Did he behold in the aisles of the pathless woods, and in the vernal bloom of the unploughed prairies, the miraged image of that wonderful state which is now so proud an ornament in the clustering stars of the Union? But as yet, the scene before him was far from inviting. There was but little to inspire him with hope.

He saw but a small hamlet, with bark-roofed cabins. Savages yet walked in the straggling streets, with the scalps of their enemies dangling from their belts. Cranberries and pelts were the commercial currency of the settlement. Oxen were the horses of the country, and Red River carts the chariots of her commerce.

But what gave him greater anxiety than all else, was the fact that, though he was the nominal executive of a domain more extensive than France, yet but a fragment was open to settlement. Casting his eyes upon the map, all in reality over which he had authority was the narrow strip of land lying between the St. Croix and the Mississippi, bounded on the north by a line

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passing near where Princeton now stands, a "pent-up Utica," and the land not of the best.

All the territory west of the Mississippi was unceded by the Indians. Into this rich Sioux empire, the young governor gazed with longing eyes. He immediately began to press, with zeal, his Whig friends in Congress, for authority to make a treaty with these savages. At last the authorization came in 1850. As a logical result of this warrant, there followed by far the most important event in the history of Minnesota, and destined to have the most salutary influence upon our destinies.

The treaty was finally consummated July 23, 1851, and was ratified by the United States Senate June 26, 1852. That day Minnesota was born again. This treaty sealed the doom of the Dakota race in Minnesota; they signed away their heritage, and were henceforth strangers in the land of their fathers.

Study all the history of that negotiation as you may, you will find that Alexander Ramsey was the essential and controlling factor in the transaction. He was not only governor of the territory, but, *ex officio*, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. It is true that the entire body of traders used their great influence with the Indians to accept the treaty, and that influence was powerful. But the traders worked from mercenary motives. Their combined claims amounted to \$209,200. Most of these accounts were of long standing, and were, perhaps justly, provided for in the terms of the treaty. But the

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one man, in that entire body of whites, who worked from no sordid motives, was Alexander Ramsey.

The treaty itself was the most imposing spectacle yet presented in the Northwest. All the dignitaries of the territory, an army of traders, speculators, editors, and all the great Dakota chiefs, in barbaric pomp, with thousands of their painted followers, were present. Why it has not earlier received the historic, literary, and artistic notice it so well deserves, it is difficult to understand. In the events of that day, it excluded and overshadowed all other concerns. It gave 25,000,000 acres of land, 23,000,000 of which inured to the state, and this the most picturesque and fertile on earth. The Almighty could have made a better country, but he never did.

The ink was not yet dry on the pages of that treaty, when a stream of immigration poured in, through "the inward swinging gates," and barbarism gave way to civilization. Ramsey beheld the realization of his dream; a magnificent destiny to the state was assured.

One of the noblest features of this treaty was, that it was contracted by peaceful persuasion. Nearly all the treaties of our government with the aborigines have been the result of bloody wars, and made at the point of the bayonet. This pacific treaty stands in all honor and credit with that of William Penn. Not a soldier was present, nor were they at any time required.

All that is wanting is an artist like Benjamin West, who gave Penn's treaty to the world, and the scene will be immortal. Yonder stands your new capitol, with

ALEXANDER RAMSEY.

“Granite and marble and granite,
Corridor, column, and dome,
A capital huge as a planet,
And massive as marble-built Rome.”

This edifice will ever be regarded with enthusiasm, for its grace, its elegance and dignity. Therefore we hang its inviolate walls with glorious state histories, first and foremost of which is the scene representing the great treaty of 1851.

It may be proper here to note that some disappointed traders, whose claims were not allowed, brought charges against Ramsey, affecting the integrity of his conduct in the negotiations. It is sufficient to state that these charges were fully investigated by a hostile senate, and he was triumphantly vindicated. Lethe, long since, sent her waves of forgetfulness over the whole story.

Correlative to this negotiation, by authority of Congress, in 1863, when he was United States senator, he made a most important treaty with the Red Lake and Pembina Ojibways. This treaty covered thirty miles on each side of the Red River, and now includes the fertile counties of Kittson, Marshall, Polk, and Norman, and part of Red Lake county, in Minnesota. Previous to this, by his influence chiefly, the Winnebagoes were permanently removed from the heart of the fairest portion of the state. By his early and persistent efforts, the colonist, the conqueror, the civilizer, the Anglo-Saxon, possesses the state, and the pagan is gone. What sentimentality regrets the change?

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In the period between the close of his office as territorial governor and his election as the second executive of the state, he loyally performed every duty of a good citizen, serving one term as mayor of the city of St. Paul.

The slavery question, with a potency which subordinated all other political ideas, was now "sovereign of the ascendant." Hitherto, in territorial politics, the Democrats held undisputed sway. On the 29th of March, 1855, the opponents of the Nebraska bill held a meeting at St. Anthony, and assumed the name "Republican." They issued a call for a convention, which was held in the capitol at St. Paul on July 28.

Ramsey had been very much attached to the Whig party, and at first was unwilling to abandon it; but from this time onward his allegiance to Republican principles was unfaltering. More and more these principles informed and infused his convictions. He believed that his party creed was the best for the country and humanity. All the ills of the republic could be medicated in that political pharmacy. He made no unnatural political alliances, but stood his ground upon the well defined principles of his party. He constantly gave his patronage to the support of his party, except during the period of the Civil War, when he bestowed his favors equally on both parties, and with a discriminating hand.

In 1857, a state constitution was to be made. A governor, state officers, two members of Congress, and two United States senators, were the prizes. The con-

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test was sharp, and both sides claimed a majority. The result was a double convention, but, by a flash of common sense, each faction produced the same constitution, alike even in orthography and punctuation. Promptly it was approved, and the arch of the state was locked in the cohesion of granitic permanence. Henry H. Sibley was the Democratic candidate for governor, and Alexander Ramsey led the Republican column. He was counted out under circumstances of great doubt. The vote, as reported by the board of state canvassers, was 17,790 for Sibley, and 17,550 for Ramsey.

In 1859, Alexander Ramsey was again the logical Republican nominee, and was elected governor by a decisive majority. He received 21,335 votes; and the Democratic candidate, George L. Becker, received 17,582 votes.

Under Ramsey's leadership, the Republicans attained power, to be dislodged but once in forty-five years. No other governor ever so impressed his individuality upon the state. Well did Henry A. Swift declare that his administration "was a distinct era in the history of the state." The study of his messages reveals his practical purposes, and consummate skill as a public administrator. Extravagance was curbed, salaries reduced, county government simplified, the school and University lands were safely housed from the despoiler, under the guarantees of the constitution. The growing and enormous school fund will ever remain as a proud monument to his memory.

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His pronounced action in reference to our school lands, as contained in his celebrated message of January 9, 1861, is undoubtedly the most complete and forceful presentation of the value to the state, and to posterity, of the magnificent grant of public lands we received from the nation, more especially in the mode and method he devised for safeguarding the gift, which has ever been presented to a legislative body. He had fully resolved that this magnificent endowment should not be squandered. With matchless courage he constrained the adoption of his measures. He left nothing, in this regard, for his successors to do, but to follow in his footsteps. By this good work, so successfully accomplished, he may be justly regarded as the author and builder of that wonderful school fund, which is today the admiration of every state in the Union.

Kindred to this, and illustrating his practical and economical state house-keeping, and characteristic of his German thrift, was his complete reformation of the extravagant and expensive government of the preceding state administration. Our first legislature was prodigal far beyond the state's resources. State, county, and township governments, had plunged headlong into excessive expenditures, creating debts and embarrassing the people. He met the situation promptly and vigorously. He insisted that every state expenditure should be reduced, that taxation might not eat up the substance of the people, nor prove a bar to immigration. His economical reforms were sweeping, even to reducing his guber-

ALEXANDER RAMSEY.

natorial salary one-half. The legislative body was largely reduced; county and township expenditures were curtailed; the public printing was no longer "a job;" salaries and taxes were alike reduced; and a banking law, which authorized a currency on inadequate securities, was swept away. Out of these radical reforms soon sprang that prosperity which has since marked the unparalleled advancement of the state.

In the progress of our history there had occurred one of those sore tribulations by which so many young states and territories have been afflicted, leaving wounds and scars during years of regret. Our misfortune was the celebrated "Five Million Loan Bill." Had the first governor of the state stood firm, and permitted no encroachment upon the executive prerogative, there would have been a door of escape. Governor Ramsey, who inherited from his predecessor this ill-fortune, devised measures to extricate the state from its entanglements. An amended constitution expunged the unfortunate measure from the statutes, and the franchises and enormous land grants were restored to the state, and by his devices the state renewed the same to other corporations, so safeguarded as to secure us those great lines of railroad which have so rapidly developed the state. Governor Ramsey is entitled to the highest credit for the masterly skill with which he extricated the endangered state from its greatest peril.

January 2, 1860, Alexander Ramsey became governor of Minnesota. Extraordinary events were pulsating

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the civilized world. Russia was emancipating her serfs; Garibaldi was liberating Italy; Germany was moving to unity. But above all, in the United States of America, the revolt against the slave power had arisen to fever heat. The Fugitive Slave Law, the Dred Scott decision, Buchanan's career of weakness and imbecility, the overthrow of the Missouri Compromise, were inciting causes for a revolution which was fated to end in blood. John Brown's soul, at Harper's Ferry, had begun its ominous march. A mighty duel between slavery and freedom was organizing in every home of the republic.

In November, 1860, that man of God, Abraham Lincoln, was elected president. The storm which had gathered, now burst in fury, and on a fatal Friday afternoon, April 12, 1861, treason fired its first shots at Fort Sumter, the portents of the bloody carnage to follow. For the first time the flag of the Union went down, but to rise again, for "the eternal years of God are hers!"

Ramsey was well prepared by experience and conviction, for the new and extraordinary responsibilities thrust upon him by the dread note of war. Not one moment did he hesitate, but offered the first troops to the President, and thus set the pace for loyal governors. The young state became a military camp, and the roll of the drum and the thrill of the bugle fired the hearts of the sons of Minnesota. He issued his call, and his call was not in vain:

ALEXANDER RAMSEY.

“And there was mounting in hot haste; the steed,
The mustering squadron and the clattering car,
Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,
And swiftly forming in the ranks of war.”

The unexpected exigencies required statesmanlike abilities. With an empty treasury, he yet equipped regiments, supplied batteries, and placed squadrons of cavalry in the field. He established hospitals, appointed surgeons, and sent comforts to the sick. He personally visited his troops in the bivouac and in the hospital, and no men in the field were better fed, better clothed, or cared for. At each subsequent call, like the clan of Roderick Dhu, at the sound of his bugle, warriors came from every bush and brake. The history of Minnesota in the mighty struggle became heroic. It was necessary to choose an army of officers, and well did he select. His privates became captains; his chaplains, archbishops; his captains, colonels; and his colonels, generals.

But in the midst of this terrible war, when our flag was almost fainting in the breeze, there came the foray of a savage enemy in the rear, with deeds too dark for description, threatening the desolation of the state. The dwellings of settlers were blazing at midnight, their paths ambushed by day. It was an orgy of blood, in which neither age nor sex were spared.

Never was a governor so tried and tested. Never was a young state in such deadly peril. But his energies and resources expanded with the dangers. His Scotch

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blood was fired with the courage of a Bruce. He summoned every man to the front. The plow was stopped in the furrow; the church door was closed, or the church itself converted into a hospital. The inhabitants were fleeing toward the cities. The conditions of the state were trying to the fortitude of the bravest hearts. But it is the highest of all human praise to say, that their constancy and courage were equal to the trial.

I doubt if the records of ancient or modern times give a better example of heroic deeds and actions, than were exhibited in that dark day, when rebels were in our front, and the savages in our rear. Our soldier sons were falling on the bloody slopes of southern battle fields, and our citizens, on the frontier, were tomahawked amid the ghastly flames of New Ulm. This was the famous and heroic era of our history, when we showed the world "the might that slumbers in a peasant's arm."

Let our children of all time revive their drooping faith in periods of despondency, by contemplating this supreme exhibition of patriotic devotion to the public weal. By promptness and unwearied exertions, the governor restored public confidence, defended the frontier, and kept two armies in the field, till triumph closed, in honor, around our faithful and chivalrous sons. These war achievements opened the door for his admission to the Loyal Legion, the noblest association following any military contest in history.

It is idle to compare any other state administration with that of Alexander Ramsey. All others, however com-

ALEXANDER RAMSEY.

petent the executives, are commonplace and devoid of stirring events. Amid all these scenes of financial distress, of prostrated credit, of dire rebellion and savage onslaught, Ramsey was ever the central figure. His coolness, his judgment, his practical good sense, carried us safely and triumphantly through the most trying conditions in all the history of our state.

The roster of our eighteen governors, territorial and state, comprises a roll of admirable men, of vigor and marked ability. But Alexander Ramsey is easily the Nestor of them all. His figure stands out in bold relief, and his primacy is universally conceded.

On the fourteenth day of January, 1863, he was elected to the United States Senate. For twelve years he was a distinguished and working member of that illustrious body. He served on its most important committees, and no senator has left a record of greater practical usefulness during the stirring period of the war and the reconstructive era following.

It was his fortune to participate in those great questions of reconstruction, of resumption, of constitutional amendments, which in their sweep involved all the issues of the great civil conflict. Party matters were trivial; but these demanded wisdom and statesmanship absolute. In all of these, he obtained the high-water mark of excellence. His state was proud of him, and felt a confidence in his wisdom and pilotage, felt in no other.

As illustrative of his practical state-craft, while he was chairman of the committee on post-offices and post

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roads, some of our most valuable postal reforms were successfully achieved, cheap international postage was secured, and the celebrated "Ramsey bill" corrected the old franking abuse. Great improvements in the navigation of the Mississippi river, essential aid to the Northern Pacific railroad, and the most satisfactory assistance in behalf of the territories of Dakota and Montana,—these, and all matters pertaining to the interests of the great Northwest, were the objects of his constant and sedulous care.

It is proper here to remark, that, in the matter of negro suffrage, he believed in a ballot based on intelligence. But in view of the extraordinary course of Andrew Johnson, in pardoning and restoring to civil rights those who had served in the rebel army, while all the South were determined to refuse the negro any rights whatever, under any conditions, he felt that it was necessary to arm these wards of the nation with the ballot, that they might not be utterly helpless, but in some measure become their own guardians.

Senator Ramsey's senatorial career closed March 4, 1875, having completed twelve years of faithful service.

In 1879 he was appointed by President Hayes to a seat in the cabinet, as secretary of war. As constitutional advisor to the President, he filled the office with wisdom and discretion. He thus widened his personal fame, and reflected additional lustre upon the state he had been so instrumental in creating.

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He was called from retirement in 1882, when the "Edmunds bill" was enacted, the object of which was to extinguish polygamy in Utah. To execute that important statute required men of consummate skill and experience. A commission was formed by the Garfield administration, of which Ramsey was made chairman. He resigned in 1886, and permanently retired to private life. This was his last public work.

We have now touched the more salient points of his remarkable history. He had rounded out a splendid career, more abundant in honors than was ever yet accorded to any son of Minnesota. With grace, dignity, and philosophic satisfaction, he retired to private life. He was out of the dust of the political arena, but in the full enjoyment of the profound respect of all his fellow citizens. Not Jefferson at Monticello, nor Jackson at the Hermitage, was the object of greater veneration and love from their fellow citizens. He had retired full of honors, as full of years.

Now that the tomb has claimed him, what do men think of him? Was Alexander Ramsey a great man? Well was it remarked that, since the advent of Washington, all estimates of human greatness have essentially changed. Men are now measured by the actual benefits they achieve for their fellow citizens, and for humanity. Measured by this standard, he was a great man, and his name should be canonized within the limits of our state.

He was one, and the chief one, of an assemblage of distinguished men, who were eminently conspicuous in

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our early annals. His rivals and co-workers were of the Titanic type.

There was Henry Hastings Sibley, his most illustrious compeer; a man of culture amid barbaric surroundings; brave and chivalric; the "plumed knight" of pre-territorial times.

There was Henry M. Rice, able, graceful, whether in the wigwam or the senate, always polished, suave and diplomatic.

There was Joseph Renshaw Brown, the brainiest of them all, a sort of an intellectual lion, who sported with the savage Sioux, or ruled a political caucus, with equal power.

There was Ignatius Donnelly, that Celtic genius, whose dazzling intellect shone like a meteor; but, unhappily, like the elephants of Pyrrhus, he was sometimes as dangerous to his friends as his foes.

There was Edmund Rice, elegant and courtly, the Chesterfield of his day. There was John S. Pillsbury, honest, solid and true; the champion of the University, and the friend of the settler.

There was Morton S. Wilkinson, stately, gifted and elegant; the friend of Lincoln. It is to be regretted that his speeches were always better than his practices.

There was Cushman K. Davis, that great jurist, whose bugle-notes of eloquence in Ciceronian periods still live in the echoes of the American Senate, as his memory yet lives, deathless, in our hearts.

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And there was the familiar face of Charles Eugene Flandrau, the cavalier of the border, lawyer, jurist, soldier, the Prince Rupert of the Northwest.

There was George Loomis Becker, lawyer, railroad president, state senator, railroad commissioner, twice Democratic candidate for governor, a true type of an elegant and accomplished gentleman of the old school.

There is James J. Hill, a strong, unique, virile, monumental character, for whom a sharp claim will be justly pressed with all the power of steam, for a high niche in the Pantheon of Minnesota's great men.

There is the patriotic face of the Right Reverend John Ireland, priest, army chaplain, assistant bishop, bishop, archbishop, and soon, we pray (be it prophetically said), to wear the red hat of a cardinal, the most eminent Catholic prelate America has yet produced, and a splendid type of a loyal American, after the stamp of Patrick Henry.

And we must mention also the name of Joseph A. Wheelock, whose polished Athenian pen has been the brightest jewel in the crown of our literature, and will remain for him a peerless monument, which proclaims the pen mightier than the sword.

Men such as these, and other rare spirits, of literary, civil, and social mark, were Ramsey's august compeers and emulators. Yet, in some aggregate way, he measured more than any one of them; and moreover, down deep in the red core of their hearts, the people loved him better than any other public man. That position

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he held by the grace of God, and without the leave of the politicians.

Beside him but one scarcely inferior figure is to be seen, and that is the stately form of Henry Hastings Sibley. He was a splendid cavalier, "from spur to plume." He, too, is one of the august fathers of the state. The panorama of his life, from barbarism to civilization, is an unwritten Iliad. He, like Ramsey, was the type of a man to found an American commonwealth. These two men are the twin pillars on which the pristine arches of the state rest,—*par nobile fratrum!*

There is nothing finer in the history of our state, than when Ramsey, as governor, summoned his old antagonist from retirement, and gave him a commission to command all the troops in the field against the hostile Sioux, and with unlimited authority. The trust and confidence these ancient enemies, in an hour of common danger, reposed in each other, bespeak for them the enduring regard of all who admire nobility of character.

What then constitutes the qualities which made Ramsey great? His greatest gift was his strong, practical common sense. Guizot, in his History of Civilization, says, that saving common sense is the best genius for mankind, and has ever been its savior in all times of danger. While not a genius, he possessed talents of the highest order. His mental fabric was symmetrical, and he was ever in command of all his faculties, judgment, memory, perception, discretion. He could apply his whole intellectual endowment to a solution of the ques-

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tions before him. He was never among the stars, searching for ideal conditions, but always on the earth, taking clear, practical views of affairs. The proverb from Ovid, "Medio tutissimus ibis," was applicable to his way and method.

He was a man with a purpose. He was one who did things. He was a projector, as well as an executor. He possessed a strong individuality of character, and that character impressed itself indelibly upon the councils of the state. He was gifted with a quality of temper that could never be ruffled. Always frank and good humored, he might be described by Goldsmith's well known line,

"An abridgment of all that was pleasant in man."

And yet, he had firmness and decision of character, and was not easily turned from his purpose.

Though bitter invective, often descending to absolute scurrility, marked the stormy annals of territorial times, yet he never, for one moment, descended to its use. Though frequently galled by the poisoned lance of partisan abuse, he never retorted in kind. His speeches and public utterances were elevated, clean, and devoid of grossness or defamation.

Ramsey was not an orator. He in no wise met the requirements of Cicero, that master of elocution. So often on the rostrum with him, I always admired his plain, direct methods, utterly rejecting all ornamentation, and by the simplest and most direct route reaching the

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purposes of his address. Like Franklin, he seldom exceeded a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes in any public address. While not a fluent, he was an easy speaker. He spoke as well in German as in English, and this fact greatly enhanced his popularity. His evident sincerity always carried conviction, and he won the judgment of his audience. He had as few idiosyncracies as any man I ever met in public life,—no crotchets, no fads, and this left his faculties unclouded and unbiased.

He was a typical American, and loved his country with a devotion as fervid as Patrick Henry. He could say, as Webster once said, "I was born an American, I live an American, I shall die an American." The East, from whence he came, was narrow; but the West broadened and liberalized his ideas.

The effect of the West upon the political thought and action of the republic, is simply enormous. It is not so much what the East has done for the West, but what has not the West done for the East? We take the sons of the East, and recast them, in stature and breadth, free from the trammels of tradition, till they widen like our own ocean prairies. The grand effect of the West upon the national character, life and government, is a story yet to be written. The West reconstructed Alexander Ramsey.

Like all truly great men, he was a firm believer in the truths of Christianity. He was a Presbyterian of the most liberal school, and believed more in a practical

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Christian life than in creeds or dogmas. He often quoted the couplet of the poet:

“For modes of faith, let graceless zealots fight,
His can’t be wrong, whose life is in the right.”

There was something remarkable in the general estimate placed upon his character. Public esteem is a lofty criterion to decide a man’s reputation. He who holds an elevated character, before such a tribunal, is indeed fortunate. Innumerable were the tongues in the state which proclaimed his virtues and his safe qualities. In the convention, in the town meeting, in the city full, or on the remote frontier, in the church or on the car, everywhere, the people said, without distinction of party, Ramsey was always safe and to be trusted. Such was the power of reputation and good character. To be thus confided in was better than a great inheritance or bank stock. No other public man among us ever so held the universal confidence, except possibly Sibley. With an intimate knowledge of our sharp political contests, I fear not to state that, when beaten for a high office by legislative coalitions and strange alliances, if left to the suffrages of his entire party, he would have been triumphantly elected.

We love sometimes to look at distinguished men *en déshabillé*, not always in their robes of state. Let us view him personally. His social and colloquial qualities were of the best. In private life, he was a genial and generous neighbor, a loving husband and a fond father.

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He was neither avaricious nor prodigal of money. He bowed in knightly homage to women, as all true gentlemen have ever done.

That elegant contrivance of social life, a good dinner, had its charms for his leisure hours and Epicurean tastes. The gorgeous table, the embossed plate, the exotic bottles, the brilliant flowers, the distinguished guests, the Attic salt, in his leisure hours, to him were fascinating. The salads of Lucullus, and the wines of Maecenas, were none too rich for his Pennsylvania blood. I believe he had the best stomach in America, and a good stomach is the foundation of a strong man.

He was a man of marked personal appearance. He had broad shoulders, a deep chest, and great muscular power, denoting immense vitality. He had a noble head, round, well balanced and symmetrical. His face was broad and expressive. When the "dew of youth" rested upon him, he was accounted especially handsome; and age but added grace and dignity to his noble appearance.

Finally, his connection with and devotion to the Minnesota Historical Society must not be omitted in this memorial volume. He was its patron saint from our natal hour to the end of his days. He signed the legislative act incorporating this body October 20, 1849, four weeks before it was organized. His address on assuming the chair as first president, January 13, 1851, is a remarkable paper, as it defined the splendid field of our research, and pointed out, as never since, the great objects of this Society. To read it even now creates an

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enthusiasm in our work, and an inspiration not to be received from any other source. He showed how Minnesota had a history, rich in tales of daring enterprise, glowing with myths and traditions, which were to be exhumed and gathered into permanent form. We were to preserve the fleeting memorials of our territory; in fact, were to become the embalmers royal to all that is worth preserving in our history. Hence this Society has a passion for old things, old traditions, old mounds, old stories, old pictures, old heroes; we love to grope in the twilight of the past, to unearth our eldest myths, as well as to verify events that otherwise would fade;— an employment so suitably symbolized by the motto on the seal of our Society, “*Lux e tenebris.*”

Like “Old Mortality” in Scott’s immortal story, with mallet and chisel, bending over their tombs in pious reverence, we remove the moss which time has gathered, ere yet oblivion dedicates them to forgetfulness. We protect and preserve the name and the fame of all the good sons of the state, as each in his turn requires these good offices. That Minnesota has an Historical Society, methodically to gather and record chronicles of men and events, of which any state might be justly proud, is largely due to Ramsey’s wise foresight and his constant and effective support.

Thus have we endeavored to present the portrait of our first and greatest governor. We have turned the dial backward, and recalled some of the scenes in the gray dawn of the past. We have summoned figures of

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noted cotemporaries, and have touched a few of the more important events of his history. True, we stumble over the images of many other distinguished men, and the fragments of many weighty events; but the canvass will not carry all things in a single picture. The artist has aimed at the general effect, without arithmetical weariness of detail.

Alexander Ramsey has passed forever to the "starry court of eternity." The grave closes the scene, and we scatter, profusely it may be, the lilies of remembrance upon his sepulcher. But the praise of the dead harms no rival, though it be generously given. I doubt if the state shall look upon his like again, because there are no surroundings to produce such a character. He surely earned a name and a fame. Minnesota cannot afford to let it die. A generous people will yet decorate his tomb with a monument that would please the eye of Pericles.

Ever advancing shadows leave uncovered the forms of but few who have been active in the arena of the state. Many we fondly thought imperishable are already quite forgotten. But Alexander Ramsey has filled so broad and so useful a page in the annals of Minnesota that he has bequeathed his name as a household word in the homes of the state, for centuries to come.

The intelligence of his death fell with an equal shock upon all classes of society. It invaded alike the homes of the rich and the cottages of the poor,—"*pau-perum tabernas, regumque turres.*"

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Alexander Ramsey is dead, so far as such men can die, and he is henceforth an historical character. We venture thus early to anticipate the verdict of posterity, and call him a great man; one test of which surely lies in this, that no other has yet risen among us, who, all in all, can successfully contest with him the palm of primacy.

To few men is it given to witness what, in the limitations of a single life time, it was his to behold. The wilderness of 1849 has been converted into a modern empire, better equipped than Greece or Rome, for the people who are its happy citizens. Gladstone, in his long life, never beheld such a transformation scene. Moses was denied the promised land, except its distant vision from a mountain top; but Ramsey not only saw the wonderful vision, but he was permitted to enter into its full enjoyment. He saw the great Mississippi valley swiftly filled with the stars of empire. He saw the mighty gates of the Rocky Mountains open to close no more. He saw twelve hundred thousand happy and prosperous people on the very land his genius had given by Indian treaties to the expanded state. He witnessed what had been done, and foresaw the unwritten triumphs of the future.

He must be measured in the completeness of his character, physical, moral, and intellectual, in all its harmony, by what it was capable of accomplishing, and by what it did actually accomplish. The propulsive force of his work still operates, and, like Tennyson's

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brook, will flow on forever. In all that pertained to the well-being of the state, his actions have stood the test of time; and no other man, on questions of public policy, ever committed so few errors of judgment. His name should be recorded among the heralds of empire, as the grandest among the founders and statesmen of Minnesota.

He died in the maturity of his years. The very ends of his being seem to have been fulfilled. It was no sudden death in the midst of life's great activities and usefulness, like the lamented Windom; but was like the close of some pleasing summer's day, whose long lingering and benignant light charms as it departs, and melts away into the rosy west, leaving upon its forehead the evening star of memory.

Nothing could be more appropriate for his monumental inscription than that placed upon the tomb of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of the Cathedral of St. Paul, who lies buried in the very building his genius constructed, and on whose tablet is this immortal legend:

"Si monumentum quaeris, circumspice."

But Alexander Ramsey lies inurned in a cathedral whose mighty arches and swelling dome reach to the very confines of this empire state, which his genius may be said to have almost created.

On the 10th of September, 1845, while a member of Congress, he was married to Miss Anna Earl Jenks, a beautiful and queenly woman, of eighteen summers,

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possessed of the sweetest disposition and the most estimable qualities. With a dash of Quaker blood, her "thee's" and "thou's" were exceedingly agreeable. She was highly domestic in her tastes. Coming from a home of comfort and the best society, with marked affability and practical good sense, she at once adapted herself to her new surroundings, and by her tact and grace contributed largely to the fortunes of her distinguished husband. After a noble and useful life, she died on November 29, 1884, and with sad hearts her troops of friends laid her tenderly away, covered with garlands of flowers, in Oakland Cemetery.

To this union there were born three children, Alexander, William, and Marion. The two boys died in early childhood, during Minnesota's territorial period. The only daughter was married to Charles E. Furness, and resides in St. Paul in the old Ramsey mansion on Exchange street.

The active duties of Governor Ramsey's life having been well completed, his last days were spent in quietness and contemplation in his home in St. Paul. There he was tenderly cared for by his daughter and grandchildren, until death called him, on April 22, 1903. His body lay in state in the capitol, and a multitude of his fellow citizens, of all classes of society, came to show him the last possible honor. He is buried in the Oakland Cemetery, that beautiful home of the dead, whose maintenance and improvement had been one of the objects of his care during his later years.

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The following Proclamation, organizing the Territory of Minnesota, was one of the most important documents ever signed by Alexander Ramsey. It was published in *The Minnesota Pioneer*, June 7, 1849:

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Whereas, by an Act of Congress of the United States of America entitled "An Act to Establish the Territorial Government of Minnesota," approved March 3, 1849, a true copy whereof is hereto annexed, a government was erected over all the country described in said act, to be called "the Territory of Minnesota;" and whereas, the following named officers have been duly appointed and commissioned under the said act as officers of said government, viz:

Alexander Ramsey, Governor of said territory and commander-in-chief of the militia thereof, and superintendent of Indian affairs therein; Charles K. Smith, secretary of said territory; Aaron Goodrich, chief justice, and David Cooper and Bradley B. Meeker, associate justices of the supreme court of said territory; Joshua L. Taylor, marshal of the United States of said territory; Henry L. Moss, attorney of the United States for said territory.

And said officers having assumed the duties of their said offices according to law, said territorial government is declared to be organized and established, and all persons are enjoined to obey, conform to and respect the laws hereof accordingly.

Given under my hand and the seal of said territory, at St. Paul, this first day of June, A. D. 1849, and of the Independence of the United States of America the seventy-third.

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By the Governor:

CHARLES K. SMITH, Secretary.

Ramsey's first message to the Territorial Legislature, September 4, 1849, was published in pages 7-18 of the *Journal of the Council* during the first session of the legislative assembly of the territory of Minnesota (St. Paul, 1850). Below are given a few extracts from it:

Our territory, judging from the experience of the few months since public attention was called to its many advantages, will settle rapidly. Nature has done much for

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us. Our productive soil and salubrious climate will bring thousands of immigrants within our borders; it is of the utmost moment that the foundations of our legislation should be healthful and solid. A knowledge of this fact will encourage tens of thousands of others to settle in our midst; and it may not be long ere we may with truth be recognized throughout the political and the moral world, as indeed the "polar star" of the republican galaxy.

Thus you will see, gentlemen, that yours is a most interesting and responsible position, and that in your hands, more than in that of any future Legislative Assembly, will be the "destinies of Minnesota."

* * * * *

Next in importance, toward facilitating the settlement of the territory, I would rank the purchase of the Sioux Indian country, west of the Mississippi river, from the Iowa line north to the Watab river, which is the south boundary of the Winnebago country; adding as the western boundary of such purchase a line drawn due south from the lake at the head of Long Prairie river. This extensive, rich, and salubrious region would open new inducements for the enterprise of our countrymen; for it is considered equal in soil to any portion of the valley of the Mississippi, and in healthfulness is probably superior to any part of the American continent. It is known to be rich in minerals as in soil; is sufficiently timbered, being traversed for one hundred miles on its western border by a hard-wood forest some forty miles in width; is watered by some of the finest rivers of the North-West, such as the Minnesota or St. Peter's, the Blue Earth, the Osakis, the Root river, and others; and is bespangled by beautiful lakes in every direction. To the eye of the observer, it presents an agreeable mingling of high rolling prairies and gentle slopes; wooded hill-tops, luxuriant natural meadows, and abundance of the purest water; and I feel a conviction that this country, once thrown open for settlement, would be peopled with a rapidity exceeding anything in the history of western colonization. I would therefore press strongly upon the Legislative Assembly the expediency of memorializing Congress upon the subject.

* * * * *

The preservation by a community of materials for the composition of its history, when a future time shall require it to be written, is a task not without its uses; and when early commenced, easily accomplished; and as newspapers are the day-books of history, as well as semi-official records in many cases, I deem it not improper to recommend to the Assembly the propriety of authorizing and requiring the

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territorial secretary, or the librarian, to subscribe for and preserve in a durable form, a copy of each and every newspaper that may be published in the territory. Thus much that is interesting in the fleeting registers of the day, and which, in years to come, will be esteemed rich mines for the historian, can be saved for satisfactory reference and future information.

The message of Governor Ramsey at the opening of the second territorial legislature, delivered January 7, 1851, is published in the Journal of the Council, 1851, pages 11-21.

The message to the third territorial legislature, January 14, 1852, is found in the Journal of the Council, 1852, pages 18-28.

Ramsey's last message as territorial governor was delivered on January 27, 1853, and is printed in the Journal of the Council during the fourth session of the legislative assembly, 1853, pages 29-37. The following paragraphs are found near its close:

In concluding this my last annual message, permit me to observe that it is now a little over three years and six months since it was my happiness to first land upon the soil of Minnesota. Not far from where we now are, a dozen framed houses, not all completed, and some eight or ten small log buildings, with bark roofs, constituted the capital of the new territory over whose destiny I had been commissioned to preside. One county, a remnant from Wisconsin territorial organization, alone afforded the ordinary facilities for the execution of the laws; and in and around its seat of justice resided the bulk of our scattered population. Within this single county were embraced all the lands white men were privileged to till; while between them and the broad rich hunting grounds of untutored savages rolled, like Jordan through the Promised Land, the River of Rivers, here as majestic in its northern youth as in its more southern maturity. Emphatically new and wild appeared everything to the in-comers from older communities; and a not least novel feature of the scene was the motley humanity partially filling these streets—the blankets and painted faces of Indians, and the red sashes and moccasins of French

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Voyageurs and half-breeds, greatly predominating over the less picturesque costume of the Anglo-American race. But even while strangers yet looked, the elements of a mighty change were working, and civilization with its hundred arms was commencing its resistless and beneficent empire. To my lot fell the honorable duty of taking the initial step in this work by proclaiming, on the 1st of June, 1849, the organization of the territorial government, and consequent extension of the protecting arm of law over these distant regions. Since that day, how impetuously have events crowded time. The fabled magic of the eastern tale that renewed a palace in a single night, only can parallel our reality of growth and progress.

* * * * *

* * * Man in the present age disdains the ancient limits to his career; and in this country, especially, all precedents of human progress, growth of states, and march of empires, are set aside by an impetuous originality of action, which is at once both fact and precedent. Doubtless on overruling Providence, for inscrutable purposes, has decreed to the American nation this quicker transition from the wilderness of nature to the maturity of social enjoyments—this shorter probation between the bud and the green tree of empire; and it well becomes us, therefore, in our gratulations upon present prosperity, and in our speculations upon greater power and happiness in the early future, to render humble yet fervent thanks “unto Him who holdeth nations in the hollow of His hand,” and shapes out the destinies of every people.

The inaugural address by Ramsey as governor of the state, January 2, 1860, is published in the Journal of the House of Representatives, second legislature of the state of Minnesota (St. Paul, 1860), pages 163-183; and in the Journal of the Senate, 1860, pages 113-133. It was also printed as a separate pamphlet of twenty-three pages, entitled “Inaugural Message of Governor Ramsey to the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota” (St. Paul, 1860).

Governor Ramsey’s second message to the state legislature, January 9th, 1861, is the first paper (thirty-one pages) in the Executive Documents of the State of Min-

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nesota for the year 1860 (St. Paul 1861). In the closing part of this message he spoke of the restriction of slavery and the danger of civil war, as follows:

One demand is the restoration in effect of the line of restriction, known as the Missouri Compromise line. But great objections to this concession are, that the entire South once declared themselves dissatisfied with it, and that the really disaffected will not accept it today. Their demands are, briefly, a slave code for the territories, and a recognition of slaves as property by the free states. We cannot believe that such demands are made in good faith. They seem to have been devised purposely to receive rejection which might be alleged as a reason for a contemplated revolution. Such demands are entirely new. Even in the formation of the Constitution of the United States it was not thought proper to admit the idea of property in man. Can we now be expected to grant what the slave states of that day thought it was not proper to ask? Such a thing as a slave code has no precedent in our history. Precisely the contrary—Congressional interdiction of slavery in the territories—has many, both old and more recent.

But whatever concession or compromise might otherwise be made, the present treasonable position of one of the Southern States, and the menacing attitude of others, the war already levied upon the United States by the seizure of government property by armed men professedly hostile to United States authority, demand, first the assertion of the rights of the nation, and next the recognition of the principle that existing constitutional agreements are to be maintained, and that, subject to the Constitution, the majority shall rule, and the minority must submit. After this is well settled we can with honor and security discuss the question of new compromises. * * *

It is therefore clear in my opinion that the nation must vindicate itself and establish again obedience to the constitutional agreements and compromises, through all the length and breadth of the land.

We are gathered from all the states of the Union and almost all civilized nations of the world. We can have no narrow or sectional feeling. Our interests equally forbid ungenerous or selfish views. We are a young state, not yet very numerous or powerful, but we are for the Union as it is, and the Constitution as it is. We hope, we expect no fraternal war. The blessings of the Union, representation in Congress, the benefits of the postal system, the honors to be won in the various departments of national service, these every state may participate in, but it is unnecessary to force them upon an unwilling people. But the territory, the forts, the

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arsenals, the dock-yards, public buildings, ships of war, revenue cutters, and the revenue, these belong to the whole nation, and these the nation can hardly relinquish with honor.

Such I believe to be the sentiment of the whole people of our state, and it may be well for the legislature now assembled, by some solemn act, in fitting terms to express our undivided attachment to the Constitution and the Union of our fathers and our willingness to contribute whatever of moral or material influence we have to preserve them, now and forever, one and inseparable.

The third annual message of Governor Ramsey to the state legislature of Minnesota, delivered January 9th, 1862, forms thirty-two pages at the beginning of the Executive Documents of the State of Minnesota for the year 1861 (St. Paul, 1862). In this message he gave the following approval of the establishment of the national banking system.

* * * Our experience, in common with that of all the Western States, has prepared us to receive with unanimous favor the excellent suggestions of the secretary of the United States treasury, looking to the issue of treasury notes upon the credit of the United States, to be used under proper restrictions for banking purposes, by responsible parties agreeing to their redemption. This scheme, if adopted, will probably solve the difficult problem of Western banking.

It will furnish an unimpeachable currency of equal value everywhere, and besides the manifest advantages of a uniform and familiar medium of circulation over the endless and perplexing variety of issues now current, it promises a final relief from the recurrence of the enormous losses which are now suffered by our people, with the periodical explosion of the banks.

Concerning the state school fund to accrue from sales or leases of the public school lands, he said:

A just and liberal spirit ought to pervade all the laws enacted for the sale or rent of the school lands; alike without invidious discrimination against one class, or in favor of another. If the provisions of the present law bear unequally upon the lessees, they might perhaps be so modified as to remedy cases of individual hardships. But this should be done with a strict view to the paramount public interest involved. It is ob-

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vious that if any considerable school fund is to be realized to the state, for a number of years, the utmost circumspection must be observed, in the disposition of the class of lands which have now reached a respectable value.

My own views upon this subject have been urged at so great length heretofore, that it is unnecessary to repeat them. But I should be unfaithful to a strong conviction of duty, if I failed to inculcate once more upon the representatives of the people the necessity of the most rigid and scrupulous guardianship of the sacred trust which the Constitution confides to you in the management of the school lands, and to admonish you against any attempts disguised under any pretext, to induce you to sacrifice the interests of the school fund.

On account of the Sioux outbreak, which began August 18, 1862, an extra session of the legislature was called by Governor Ramsey. His message, delivered on the first day of the session, September 9, was printed as a pamphlet of twenty-four pages and also as the first paper (fifteen pages) in the Executive Documents of the State of Minnesota for the year 1862. It was devoted almost entirely to a history of the outbreak, the means he had employed to check it, and recommendations of further action by the legislature. The following are extracts from it:

The circumstances of this outbreak give it an aspect of wanton malignity and perfidy scarcely paralleled, if at all, even in the tragic annals of Indian crime.

* * * * *

The outbreak of the Sioux occurred at a time when we were little prepared in many respects to meet so sudden an emergency. Fortunately, we had just raised a considerable part of the new levies ordered by the President. But most of these were farmers taken from the thick of the pending harvest, and had enlisted on the promise of a furlough to the first of September to secure their crops, and so large a part of the volunteers were absent at the time, that the forces sent had to be made up of fragments of different companies and regiments.

A still more serious embarrassment was felt at the outset from the want of arms and ammunition. Application was, how-

ALEXANDER RAMSEY.

ever, immediately made by telegraph to Washington, St. Louis, and the governors of adjoining states, and in addition to supplies received from regular sources, I am much indebted to the governor of Wisconsin for a prompt response to my request for cartridges.

* * * * *

It is estimated that five hundred persons of every age and sex perished, and worse than perished, by the hands of these remorseless butchers in the course of the two or three days succeeding the outbreak, before their progress was checked by our forces; and hundreds of them lie yet unburied where they fell, hidden in the grass and bushes of prairies and ravines. Many, doubtless, in the attempt to escape, have become lost, or fainting from exhaustion and terror have died from starvation.

* * * * *

Our course then is plain. The Sioux Indians of Minnesota must be exterminated or driven forever beyond the borders of the state.

The public safety imperatively requires it. Justice calls for it. Humanity itself, outraged by their unutterable atrocities, demands it. The blood of the murdered cries to Heaven for vengeance on these assassins of women and children. They have themselves made their annihilation an imperative necessity. Faithless to solemn treaty obligations, to old friendships, to the ties of blood, regardless even of self interest when it conflicts with their savage passions, incapable of honor, of truth or of gratitude; amenable to no law; bound by no moral or social restraints—they have already destroyed, in one monstrous act of perfidy, every pledge on which it was possible to found a hope of ultimate reconciliation.

They must be regarded and treated as outlaws. If any shall escape extinction, the wretched remnant must be driven beyond our borders and our frontier garrisoned with a force sufficient to forever prevent their return.

On January 7, 1863, Ramsey delivered his last annual message as governor. It was published as a paper of thirty-two pages in the Executive Documents of the State of Minnesota for the Year 1862. A few passages from it are as follows:

It is a source of excusable pride, we trust, to every Minnesotian that his state, which in 1850 had a population of only 5,000, should, within the last few months, have been able to furnish the federal government with an army of 12,000 men,

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while at the same time she unaided crushed out the most formidable Indian uprising known in history.

Can we over-estimate the future of such a people?

* * * *

Amid the gloom which has during the past year enshrouded our distracted country, and the scenes of savage carnage which have devastated the fairest portions of our own state, it is, at least, some consolation for us to know that Minnesota has continued promptly to respond to the demands of the nation; that in these days of our peril the work of recruiting has never flagged; that while the scalping knife of the savage was destroying their loved ones at home, that while their burning cottages were lighting up the midnight hour, her sons have followed their banner to the front, upon the banks of the Potomac, or met a soldier's death upon the victorious fields of the Southwest, and their gallant exploits have won for our state an imperishable name.

We may almost say, that today the sun in his course shines upon no American bondsman. By the Proclamation of the President, the shackles have fallen from the limbs of nearly every slave.

For the first time in the history of the American Republic, we are in deed, as we long have been in name, a nation of freemen.

Other addresses, reports, and papers by Ramsey are as follows:

Reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, by Luke Lea and Alexander Ramsey, dated at Mendota, Minnesota territory, August 6, 1851, transmitting treaties with the Sioux Indians, and by Governor Ramsey, dated at St. Paul, November 7, 1851, transmitting a treaty with the Chippewas at Pembina; published in Executive Documents of the Senate of the United States, first session of the Thirty-second Congress, Volume III, forming respectively pages 278-284 and 284-288 (Washington, 1852).

Inaugural Address as mayor of St. Paul, published in the Daily Minnesota Pioneer, April 12, 1855.

ALEXANDER RAMSEY.

Address delivered at the Second Annual Territorial Fair, in Minneapolis, October 8-10, 1856; published as a pamphlet of twenty-two pages (St. Paul, 1857).

Address delivered at the Grand Celebration in the City of St. Paul, September 1, 1858, in commemoration of the laying of the Atlantic telegraph cable; published in a pamphlet of twenty-two pages (St. Paul, 1858), the address of Governor Ramsey being in pages 12-16.

Address in the United State Senate, on a Bill to amend the Postal Laws, delivered February 11, 1867; published in the Congressional Globe, second session, Thirty-ninth Congress, pages 1145-6.

Address in the United States Senate, introducing Memorial Resolutions in honor of Daniel Norton, delivered January 24, 1871 (Congressional Globe, third session, Forty-first Congress, page 694).

Report of the Secretary of War (House of Representatives, Forty-sixth Congress, third session, Ex. Doc. 1, Part 2), in four volumes. The report of Governor Ramsey, as secretary of this department, dated November 19, 1880, forms pages iii-xxvii in Volume I.

First and Second Reports of the Utah Commission, dated August 31, 1882, and November 17, 1882; published in the Report of the Secretary of the Interior, second session, Forty-seventh Congress, pages 1003-1005 and 1005-1009 (Washington, 1882).

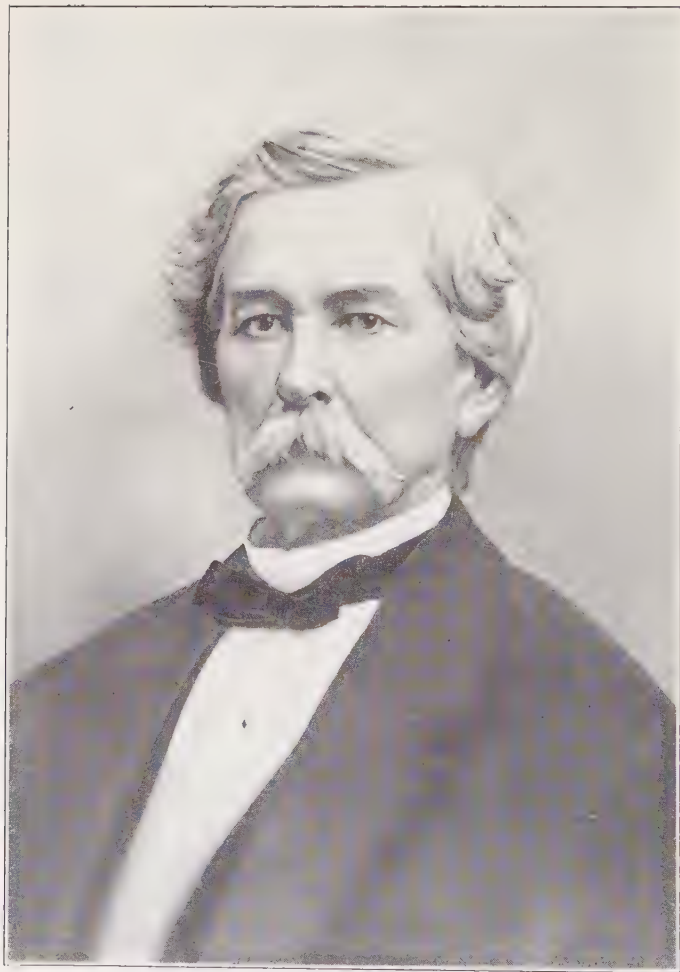
The following papers, read by Ramsey before the Minnesota Historical Society, are published in its series of Historical Collections:

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Our Field of Historical Research, an address at the Annual Meeting of the Society, January 13, 1851 (Volume I, 1872; pages 43-52, 1902, pages 25-32).

The Origin and Growth of the Minnesota Historical Society, an address at its annual meeting, January 13, 1896 (Volume VIII, pages 41-44).

Address at the Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the Minnesota Historical Society, November 15, 1899 (Volume IX, pages 555-558).



WILLIS A. GORMAN.

WILLIS ARNOLD GORMAN

Second Territorial Governor, was born near Flemingsburg, Kentucky, January 12, 1816, and died in St. Paul, Minnesota, May 20, 1876. He was a lawyer; served in the Mexican War and the Civil War; and was breveted brigadier-general.

WILLIS ARNOLD GORMAN

SECOND TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR

May 15, 1853, to April 23, 1857

THE honored subject of this sketch was a man who in his time played many parts, a soldier, a statesman, a lawyer, and a model citizen. An irreversible judgment has been pronounced upon the record of his life, and his imperfections were so few and his virtues so many that we give him a position in that temple of honor consecrated to men only of lofty character.

Willis Arnold Gorman was of Irish descent, the only son of David L. and Elizabeth Gorman, and one of two children. He was born in Fleming county, Kentucky, near Flemingsburg, January 12, 1816. His parents removed to Bloomington, Indiana, in 1835, where in the Indiana University, as he had received a good primary and academic education, he at once applied himself to the study of law. He graduated at the law school connected with the university at the early age of twenty. He had many difficulties to encounter, but made a success of his profession from the beginning, when he defended a man charged with murder and won an unexpected victory.

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In January, 1836, he married Miss Martha Stone, a daughter of Ellis Stone, an honored citizen of Monroe county, Indiana. He gradually won a fine position at the bar, and his natural ability and growing popularity seemed to open the door for a public career. He was first elected to the legislature at the early age of twenty-three, and gave such satisfaction that he was elected five times in succession.

At this period the Mexican War broke out, and he could not repress his patriotic spirit, but volunteered at once as a private in the Third Indiana Volunteers, and was elected a major, June, 1846. James H. Lane, afterward United States senator from Kansas, was his colonel. This regiment rendered signal service and won great fame at the battle of Buena Vista. It is said that under the direct order of General Taylor he made so vigorous an attack on the enemy's flank as to materially aid in winning the victory. Every fourth man in Major Gorman's battalion of five hundred was either killed or wounded. During this battle, the Major's horse was shot from under him and fell in a deep ravine, and the fall severely injured the Major, but he never abandoned his command till the enemy fled.

In May, 1847, the term of the enlistment of his battalion expired, and the regiment returned home with abundant laurels, and Major Gorman immediately began the organization of the Fourth Indiana regiment, of which he was unanimously elected colonel. This regiment participated in a number of battles, in which he

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won the reputation of a dashing and gallant officer. He served with eminent distinction and returned to Indiana at the close of the war.

In August, 1849, he was chosen to represent his district in Congress, which position he filled for two terms. While in Congress he displayed great readiness and versatility in debate, and on the slavery question then agitating the country, he distinguished himself for the clearness of his views and the force and eloquence with which they were presented.

When Franklin Pierce became president, in 1853, he appointed Colonel Gorman governor of the then territory of Minnesota.

He reached St. Paul May 13, 1853, and two days afterward took possession of his office. Thenceforth his history became identified with the growth and development of the territory and state of Minnesota. He did not come to our territory, like Medary, as a bird of passage; but he came to stay, and to share our hopes and destiny. Shields, one of the first United States senators of Minnesota, was a politician, floating around among new territories and states, to see what good things could be picked up, and, if he failed, he would fly to pastures new. But permanence was the purpose of Gorman, and he entered at once into the study of those things which made for the general welfare of the territory. In his last message he pledged the people that he would remain in the territory and future state as a permanent citizen.

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Governor Gorman, with his experience in Indiana as a politician, his fine personal appearance, his earnest and impressive manner, his gifts as a public speaker, speedily ingratiated himself into the public notice, and was accounted a leader in territorial politics. While he took great interest in inducing the building of railways, he was firm in protecting the people's rights, and recommended that in the distribution of the land grants the state should receive at least three per cent. of the gross earnings in lieu of general taxation. There is no doubt but that the present system of three per cent. of tax upon the gross income of the railways of the state is owing largely to the firmness and wisdom of Governor Gorman. It was during the contests growing out of these land grants that a stranger came to the governor's office, and made the attempt to offer him a bribe of a very considerable sum of money if he would suffer a certain railroad bill to become a law. With flaming eyes and vehement language the Governor ejected him from the executive chamber.

The only instance in which Governor Gorman seemed to permit personal interests to sway his judgment, was in the matter of the removal of the state capital from St. Paul to St. Peter, for it developed in the history of that celebrated contest that the Governor was one of the leading stockholders in the St. Peter company. In the Joe Rolette episode, a bill that had passed by a very narrow majority, having for its object the removal of the state capital from St. Paul to St. Peter, was

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spirited away by this Pembina member, and failed to become a law. All this occurred during Gorman's administration, and the success of the movement depended wholly upon the governor's known willingness to sign the bill. The services of Joe Rolette to St. Paul in the eventful crisis will never be forgotten by the people of that city.

During his entire administration, Governor Gorman made it a point to deal justly and fairly with the Indian population of the territory. He made several important treaties with the savages, with perfect peace and harmony, and entire satisfaction to the government. He was, *ex officio*, the general superintendent of the several tribes, and disbursed for their benefit more than a million dollars during his term of office, without the Indians losing a dollar, and no charge was ever made that any of the moneys went astray. His personal integrity was without blemish. In 1853, he accomplished the removal of the Sioux bands from their possessions opposite St. Paul to their new homes at Redwood and Yellow Medicine, as provided by treaty, without conflict or disturbance, a most difficult and delicate task requiring consummate skill and tact.

In 1857, his term of office having expired, he resumed the practice of law in St. Paul with much success. June 1st, of that year, the election of delegates to the constitutional convention was held, and Governor Gorman was elected from St. Paul, and took an active part in the exciting deliberations of that body. During the

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session of the legislature of 1857 he was a candidate for the Senate of the United States, but was apparently defeated by the unfortunate division in his party. In the fall of 1859, he was elected to the legislature, but the governor declined to call that body together.

The presidential election of 1860 was now approaching, in which Governor Gorman took a most active part, canvassing every portion of the state, and championing the claims of his personal friend, Stephen A. Douglas. He was a vigorous and eloquent stump speaker, and widened his influence and popularity by his efficient work.

Prior to the breaking out of the Civil War, and when secession was threatened, he promptly announced himself as an unqualified unionist. When Sumter fell, April 14, 1861, a meeting of the citizens of St. Paul was called, and Governor Gorman, in a most stirring and fervid appeal to the people, did much to give a tone and patriotic direction to public sentiment.

At this moment, Alexander Ramsey, the governor of the state, was in Washington on executive business, and on Sunday morning he called on President Lincoln and made tender of a Minnesota regiment for the common defense, being the first of the loyal governors to tender troops for the preservation of the Union. Governor Ramsey at once sent a dispatch to Lieutenant Governor Donnelly, instructing him to forthwith issue a call for the services of a regiment of infantry, which call was issued Tuesday, the 16th of April. Business was for the time suspended, and political ties seemed obliterated.

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This historic First regiment was mustered at Fort Snelling April 29, 1861. Governor Ramsey was present at the muster, and immediately announced the field officers, and Willis A. Gorman was colonel.

On May 1st Colonel German was presented with a handsome sword by Major W. I. Cullen, of St. Paul. On May 14, the numerous friends of Colonel Gorman presented to him a large and serviceable war horse, with an elegant equipment. On May 24, the ladies of St. Paul, by the hands of Mrs. Anna E. Ramsey, the accomplished wife of the Governor, presented the regiment with a fine flag. On the morning of the 3d of July, 1861, one thousand Minnesota soldiers, with hostile intent, under command of Colonel Gorman, passed over the Potomac and trod the "sacred soil" of old Virginia, and entered upon that illustrious career which crowned them with laurels second to none in that mighty contest.

Colonel Gorman was ordered to join General McDowell's command, and was in the battle of the first Bull Run, where the regiment displayed conspicuous gallantry. On returning to Washington, Colonel Gorman was placed in command of a brigade, and on the recommendation of General Scott on the 17th of September following, by reason of his gallant conduct at the battle of Bull Run, he was made a brigadier general, October 1, 1861. This ended his direct connection with the First Minnesota regiment. October 22 following, his brigade took part in the battle of Ball's Bluff, and in that cam-

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paign the First regiment was in Gorman's brigade. It was in this unfortunate battle that Gen. E. D. Baker was killed, while gallantly fighting, and he fell not far from Gorman's brigade.

The following spring, General Gorman's brigade was with the advance column headed for Richmond by way of the Peninsula. It was on this march that he experienced an attack of malarial fever which compelled his return to Washington. Recovering from his illness, after Pope's disastrous campaign, he joined General McClellan's column in its march to intercept Lee, when that officer invaded Maryland, which resulted in the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, in both of which Gorman participated. General Gorman next won high commendation for his efficient conduct in the battle of Fair Oaks, May 31, 1862.

About this time General Gorman was transferred to an important command in the West. He parted company with the "Old First" with profound regret; indeed, the regret was mutual, and this esteem ever remained. From the beginning he was indefatigable in drilling and preparing it for service and urging it on to high ideals. Judge William Lochren, a very excellent authority, says: "Perhaps the regiment never would have become all that it was, but for the influence of Gorman, which remained after he left it and to the end, and was seen in its charge at Gettysburg, as in its unyielding attitude in earlier battles."

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By virtue of the transfer referred to, he assumed command of a military division in Arkansas with headquarters at Helena. Here his duties were as much civil as military. His aim seemed to be to subordinate the military to the civil law. He established a sort of court of civil jurisdiction, which was ordered to proceed according to the form of the common law. Lawlessness was suppressed, and stability was thus given to all business interests.

In the latter part of 1864, after nearly four years of active service, with honor to himself and credit to his state, he bade adieu to military life and sought rest and recuperation in private life.

In 1864 he returned to his home in St. Paul and soon formed a partnership with the Hon C. K. Davis, later United States senator. This intimacy subsisted for many years, General Gorman giving special attention to the criminal branch of his profession. He was, in 1869, elected city attorney, which office he held for six successive terms, to the entire satisfaction of the people of the whole city.

General Gorman was primarily a lawyer. As a professional man, his capacity, skill, and legal attainments have been celebrated by a better pen than mine. "In his profession he had no superior as an advocate. His devotion to a client knew no bounds, and he brought to the trial of any case in which he engaged, resources and tact which made him a most dangerous antagonist."¹

¹Hon. C. K. Davis, in Minnesota Historical Society Collections, Vol. III, page 331.

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It remains to speak of General Gorman as a private man and a citizen. He was in every respect exemplary and amiable. His disposition was kind and affectionate. Brave in action and at times rough in manner, yet he was at heart tender as a woman. He had a strong sense of moral and religious duty, and was a sincere and devoted Catholic. As we review his life, we see how perfectly immaterial are the blemishes which were frequently charged to his account. We see, too, how many were the virtues which adorned his well spent years. To women he was ever profoundly respectful and chivalric, which is the mark of a true gentleman. His whole personal conduct was marked by independence and sterling honesty. He never was controlled by any clique, nor accused of being the tool of any ring. Whatever came to him in the line of duty, to that he gave the most intense devotion. In his domestic life he was sweet and lovable. His hospitable home was the abode of the most charming social life, and the writer can never forget the many delightful hours spent at his fireside.

We cannot close this estimate of General Gorman without quoting from his friend and partner, Cushman K. Davis, his last eulogistic words touching his dead friend:

"It is one of the facts to which we cannot reconcile ourselves, that the force of such personal examples as his, perishes so soon. Nothing is permanent but the permanency of change; and the sure and saddening change in

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which a good man disappears, and shortly after his memory and his works go after him, 'Like a dream of the shadow of smoke,' seems to us who look with finite vision, like uncompensated loss. Let us protect him and his memory, as far as we may, against the inevitable resolution of all things into dim forgetfulness. Assuring ourselves that in our time we shall not see, fortunate will those who come after us be if they can possess as a companion so brave, so faithful, so spotless a man as Willis Arnold Gorman."

General Gorman was twice married. His first wife was Miss Martha Stone, of Bloomington, Indiana. She was a most admirable lady, and possessed of great social qualities. To this union there were five children as follows: R. F. Gorman, the eldest, so favorably known in St. Paul, and long the clerk of the Board of Public Works; James W. Gorman, who was assistant adjutant general on the General's staff from September, 1862, till the date of his death at Indianapolis, February 19, 1863, from disease contracted in the service; Louisa G., wife of Harvey Officer, Esq., of St. Paul, who died March 4, 1870; E. S. Gorman, attorney at law in St. Paul; and Martha B., now Mrs. Wood, residing at Evansville, Indiana. The noble mother of these children died March 1, 1864, at Bloomington, Ind., the home of her childhood, where she was visiting during the absence of the General with his military command. He was subsequently married to Miss Emily Newington, April 27.

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1865. This estimable lady survived her husband, and of this union there was no issue.

General Gorman died May 20, 1876, at his residence in St. Paul. His mind was clear to the last, and he died surrounded by his family and friends. The flags on all city and state buildings were hoisted at half mast, for his death was regarded as a public calamity. His funeral cortége was, to that period, the most imposing the city had seen. The funeral was attended by seventy lawyers of the city, with the judges of the supreme and district courts and the court of common pleas. A company of the 20th United States Infantry from Fort Snelling, with the full regimental band, was present. The mayor, the council, and all the city officers, veterans of the Mexican War, and many members of the old Minnesota First, the members of Acker Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, the governor and other state officers,—all these were part of the procession which filled the ample Cathedral. A most tender and eloquent funeral discourse was delivered by that distinguished prelate, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Ireland, from those well known words, "It is appointed unto man once to die, and after death the judgment." The remains were deposited in Oakland Cemetery, in the beautiful family lot, covered with floral offerings, and the 20th United States Infantry discharged three volleys over the grave of one whose character and service to his state will stand as a monument when that of granite shall have crumbled away.

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The first message of Governor Gorman to the territorial legislature January 11, 1854, was published in pages 25-34 of the Journal of the Council during the fifth session of the legislative assembly (St. Paul, 1854). In this message he said:

The maxim that "that government is best which governs least," has much wise admonition to a state in its infancy. The laws for the government of a plain republican people should be few, simple, and with uniform application to every section of the country, and bearing alike upon all, leaving to each individual the largest liberty consistent with the good of the whole. Capital always comes forward with the largest demands upon the legislator, whilst labor is more humble in its pretensions, and stands yet far more in need of your fostering care. I hope we may all profit by an occasional recurrence to those great principles, which lie at the foundation of all legislation. Therefore, should it be your pleasure, during the present session, to incorporate companies for the development of our resources, I recommend that they be so guarded, with restrictions, as to keep them constantly under the control of the people's representatives. Population and commerce will command capital, and without the aid of legislative protection, that capital, concentrated, will command power enough for all legitimate purposes.

The message to the legislature in its sixth session, delivered January 18, 1855, is in the Journal of the Council, pages 31-43. Governor Gorman in this message recommended that the attractions of Minnesota for new settlers should be made known more widely, as follows:

Sound political economy has taught us that population is the basis of wealth and greatness. It is therefore the duty of the law-making power to so frame the political institutions of government as most certainly to secure it. Our agricultural, mineral and manufacturing resources are so abundant that Minnesota needs no utopian pictures to be drawn to entice to our territory either population, capital, or commerce. We need only a true history of our broad fertile prairies, our woods, lakes, rivers, minerals, pineries, water power and navigation, to tempt capital in abundance, and direct emigration to where they can find enough of those advantages combined to satisfy the enterprising of all classes and countries. We need not stop

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to inquire why it is that thousands of our fathers, brothers, and friends, can content themselves to stick to the worn out and comparatively barren soil of the old states, rather than seek a home in this invigorating and healthy climate and fertile soil. They will soon find out our facilities for wealth and comfort when we take steps to advertise them. I would, therefore, as the first step to this end, recommend that you take into consideration, at the earliest day convenient, the propriety of appointing an emigration agent to reside chiefly in the city of New York, whose duty it shall be to give to the people correct information of our territory, its soil, climate, population, productions, agricultural, manufacturing and educational facilities and prospects. * * *

Gorman's message of January 9, 1856, in the Seventh session of the territorial legislature, published in pages 1-13 of the Appendix of the Journal of the Council, contains the following:

It is a source of much satisfaction to observe the laudable efforts being made by our people in the cause of literature and science, and particularly in the reorganization of the Minnesota Historical Society, under circumstances that give the fullest assurance that no effort will be spared to place it upon a basis of the most honorable distinction. It will be a matter of much interest to the coming generation to have perpetuated the monuments of our early history, not only in this territory, but for the whole Northwest; and no institution at present promises to accomplish so much as this society. It is recommended that a small appropriation be made for the purpose of aiding in the advancement of these objects.

The last message of Governor Gorman to the legislature, delivered January 14, 1857, in its Eighth session, was published in the Journal of the Council, pages 21-31, and also as a separate pamphlet of 15 pages. The admission of Minnesota as a state was recommended by many considerations, beginning as follows:

From sources deemed reliable, I am able to state the population of the territory at about one hundred and eighty thousand souls, and I feel justified in saying that this is rather under than over the estimate made by many who have taken some pains to inform themselves on the subject.

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It is proper to state that the taxable property in the territory amounts to between thirty and thirty-five millions of dollars, even at the low rate of assessment made by the officers appointed for the purpose. The returns made by twenty-four counties show an assessment of twenty-four millions of dollars.

In view of our population and wealth, it seems to be a matter of necessity that steps be taken to throw off our state of dependence on the National Government, and assume the mantle of state sovereignty. Even should the most speedy organization be made to this end, our population must run up to two hundred or two hundred and fifty thousand people, and our taxable property reach fifty or sixty millions of dollars at least, before Congress will probably admit us into the Union. * * *



SAMUEL MEDARY.

S A M U E L . M E D A R Y

Third Territorial Governor, was born in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, February 25, 1801, and died in Columbus, Ohio, November 7, 1864. He was the last governor of Minnesota Territory, holding that position until Minnesota was admitted to statehood.

SAMUEL MEDARY

THIRD TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR

April 23, 1857, to May 24, 1858

THE acquaintance of the writer with Governor Medary began in 1855, when just after leaving college I became editor of the Scioto Gazette at Chillicothe, Ohio. Governor Medary was at that time editor of the Ohio Statesman. We exchanged papers and also exchanged pungent paragraphs, he being a violent Jacksonian Democrat, and I in the chrysalis state, passing from a Whig to a Republican. In these encounters he undoubtedly got the better of me, for he was a skilled knight of the quill, and I but a fledgling. Though he was a stalwart editor, vehement and caustic, yet personally he was one of the most agreeable of men, in every way genial and lovable. He was at that time easily the Nestor of the Ohio press.

He was succeeded in the editorship of the Statesman by the Hon. S. S. Cox, an able man, long in Congress from the Columbus district, and who was known by the sobriquet of "Sunset Cox," a title I had given him by reason of a highly wrought and sophomoric editorial on a flaming sunset after a great storm.

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Samuel Medary, called "the wheel horse of Ohio Democracy," was born in Montgomery Square, Montgomery county, Pa., February 25, 1801. It has been said that the family name was originally spelled Madeira. He was the son of Jacob Medary, a respectable farmer. His ancestors were Quakers, and he was brought up as a Quaker, and it is of record in the family that his mother's ancestors emigrated to this county with William Penn.

Samuel Medary was educated at the Norristown Academy. It is said of him that in his youth he contributed poetic effusions to the local paper. For awhile he taught school and continued his studies in higher branches. His family appear to have been unsettled, for they removed in 1820 to Montgomery county, Md., and three years later to Georgetown, D. C. In 1822 he himself went to Montgomery county, Va., where he was married. In 1826, he settled in Batavia, Clermont county, Ohio. At the age of twenty-six, he was made county surveyor, school trustee, and afterward county auditor. Meantime he learned the trade of a printer. In 1828 he appears to have entered upon his life work, for he established the "Ohio Sun," and became an enthusiastic advocate of General Jackson for the presidency. In 1834 he was elected to the lower house of the state legislature, and subsequently to the state senate. His term having expired, he removed to Columbus, Ohio, the capital of the state, and purchased the "Western Hemisphere," which in due time was given the name of the

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"Ohio Statesman," and in the columns of this paper he achieved great success. Perhaps no Ohio editor was ever better known, or more greatly feared by his enemies than was Samuel Medary during the twenty-one years he edited that journal. It was a political power always to be counted with, not only in Ohio but all the middle states. He was recognized by Jackson as his ablest editorial supporter, and no editor in the United States enjoyed the confidence and personal regard of "Old Hickory" as did Medary.

The old political battle cry of "Fifty-four Forty or Fight," relative to the Oregon boundary question, originated with him. In 1844 he was made chairman of the Ohio delegation to the Baltimore convention. The internal history of that celebrated convention develops the fact that his great friend, General Jackson, had written a letter to Mr. Medary asking him, in the event of discord, to offer the name of James K. Polk, of Tennessee, for the presidency. The hour apparently foretold by Jackson came, and when the tumult was at its height, Medary produced this letter, and the result was Polk's nomination by acclamation. His action in securing Polk's nomination by the Jackson letter, resulted in his being offered the position of United States minister to Chili in 1853, which was declined.

In 1856, being a delegate to the Cincinnati convention which nominated James Buchanan for the presidency, he was made temporary chairman, though he strongly advocated the nomination of Stephen A. Doug-

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las, with whom he had been on terms of intimate personal friendship. Subsequently, when Douglas opposed Buchanan, a political separation ensued. James Buchanan having been elected president, he appointed Samuel Medary of Columbus, Ohio, territorial governor of Minnesota in March, 1857. He succeeded Willis A. Gorman, a Democrat, but an appointee of President Pierce, the latter not being popular among the Democrats of the Northwest.

Governor Medary arrived in St. Paul on the 22d day of April, 1857. He was quietly sworn in as governor at the old capitol building, April 23, and on the 29th of April, he delivered to the territorial council and house of representatives his first message.

Minnesota was at this period in transition from a territorial to a state government. It was also the period of the real estate mania. Townsites and paper cities were the passion of the hour. One humorous citizen, with bitter irony, recommended that a small portion of the land be reserved for agriculture and not all be laid out in town lots. That same year the bubble of speculation burst, and almost in a single day the territory dropped from the top wave of prosperity into a slough of despondency.

These conditions were not such as to give Medary a cordial welcome to his new home. Then also occurred the first state election, though somewhat premature, the state not yet being admitted. The entire state, judicial, and legislative ticket was elected in October, 1857,

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although the constitution was not accepted and approved by Congress till May 11, 1858. None of the state officers could qualify till after the formal admission of the state. Meantime, Medary was still recognized as governor, though most of the time out of the territory and acting through the secretary of the territory, Charles L. Chase.

The passage of the celebrated Five Million Loan Bill was of this period, and was approved by Governor Medary, through the secretary. The situation was indeed anomalous. The legislature in existence was a state legislature, so elected, and it was passing acts approved by a territorial governor, the state not being yet admitted. A "solemn protest" was entered of record against the validity of all acts passed at this session, and on the journal of the senate are spread protests and resolutions to that effect. It was held that the constitution enacted contemplated an admission into the Union as a prerequisite to the exercise of any act of state sovereignty. But the majority held differently and matters of legislation proceeded, and no further objection was ever raised as to the validity of all acts done under this double-headed system, either by Congress or the state. It is proper to remark, however, that the question of the legality of these laws did reach the territorial bench, and Judge Flandrau pronounced them legal. But the general situation was unpleasant for the new governor, and was the occasion of his continued absence from the capital. The acting governor during the ab-

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sences of Governor Medary was C. L. Chase, secretary of the territory.

December 11, 1857, Governor Medary issued his second and last message to the legislature. It was a comprehensive review of the condition of the territory, and of the changes necessarily incident to the transition from a territorial to a state government. This was the period when Minnesota apparently presented the condition of having three governors at the same time,—H. H. Sibley was governor elect of the yet unadmitted state; C. L. Chase, territorial secretary, was acting governor in the absence of Medary; and Samuel Medary was *de facto* governor, being in Columbus, Ohio, and drew his salary until May 24, 1858.

Governor Medary was in the gubernatorial office for a period of thirteen months. He was the last of our territorial governors, there being three, Alexander Ramsey, Willis A. Gorman, and Samuel Medary.

After the formal admission of Minnesota into the Union, he was appointed postmaster at Columbus, Ohio. Soon afterward he was appointed governor of Kansas, November 19, 1858, and entered upon the duties of his office December 20. The long existing difficulties in Kansas were comparatively at rest during his administration, and no occasion was given for the display of administrative ability. He resigned his office December 20, 1860. He again returned to Columbus and resumed his old vocation by establishing a paper which

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was called "The Crisis," whose proprietor he remained until his death, which occurred November 7, 1864.

He was buried in Green Lawn Cemetery, Columbus, Ohio; and in 1869 the Democrats of Ohio erected there a noble monument to his memory. It bears this inscription:

Samuel Medary,
Born in Montgomery County, Penn.,
February 25, 1801.
Died at Columbus, Ohio,
November 7, 1864.
In commemoration of his Public Services, Private Virtues,
Distinguished Ability and Devotion to Principle,
This Monument is Erected by the
Democracy of Ohio.

Governor Medary had twelve children: Virginia (Mrs. Wilson), Sarah (Mrs. Massey), Kate (Mrs. Blair), Louise (Mrs. Smith), Missouri, Samuel Adams, Flora (Mrs. Nevins), Charles Stewart, William Allen, Frederick Henry, Laura Willey, and Jacob. Missouri died in infancy, and Louise died in 1861. The other children survived the Governor.

Governor Medary's message of April 29, 1857, in the extra session of the territorial legislature called to provide for admission to statehood, was published in the Journal of the Council, pages 5-7, and also as a pamphlet of six pages. The purpose of the session was noted thus:

Herewith transmitted is a copy of the act of Congress, passed at the last session, "To authorize the people of the Territory of Minnesota to form a Constitution and State Government, preparatory to their admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States."

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The provisions of the act are explicit, requiring no explanation. They are liberal and beneficent to the future state of Minnesota. It is your province to determine what legislation is required at your present session to carry the law into effect. It will devolve upon you to provide for the compensation of the members of the Constitutional Convention, and for defraying the expenses of that body. The whole subject is submitted to your disposal, in the confidence that your action will be as prompt and judicious as the interests of the territory may demand; and that it will be in full harmony with the spirit and intent of the Enabling Act of Congress.

The message of Medary to the first legislature of the state of Minnesota, delivered December 11, 1857, published in the Journal of the Senate, pages 29-39, and as a separate pamphlet of 13 pages, begins as follows:

I congratulate you upon your organization as the Legislative Department of a State Government.

The territorial existence of Minnesota has been brief, healthful and fortunate; and having patiently waited until the full measure of her population is more than attained, and asked and fulfilled every formality of law and precedent, she is ready—without dissension, strife or doubt—to take her place among the co-equal sovereignties of the Federal Union.

You will join with me in the hope and effort that Minnesota may achieve a position of usefulness and importance in national affairs, and be powerful in promoting the harmony and prosperity of these United States.

The Constitution adopted by the people of our territory, with such distinguished unanimity, is so distinct in its grants and limitations of power that there need be no difficulty in following its true intent and meaning. Securing the fullest liberty of conscience, of speech, and of the Press, its Republican character is indisputable. The work of actual residents, uninfluenced by outside interference, the people of Minnesota can repose upon it as their own creation; and if found inadequate to the complete development of their state, or defective in any of its provisions, they have reserved to themselves the ways and means of its revision or abrogation. Upon the legislature now assembled devolves the high privilege and important duty of shaping the first laws of our infant state, in accordance with the charter the people have decreed.



HENRY H. SIBLEY.

HENRY HASTINGS SIBLEY

First Governor of the State, was born in Detroit, Michigan, February 20, 1811, and died in St. Paul, Minnesota, February 18, 1891. He was factor for the American Fur Company in pre-territorial days; was the first delegate to Congress from this area; and commanded the white forces who conquered the Indian outbreak in 1862.

HENRY HASTINGS SIBLEY

FIRST GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

May 24, 1858, to January 2, 1860

HENRY Hastings Sibley, the first governor of the State of Minnesota, was born in the city of Detroit, Michigan, February 20, 1811. The genealogical record of the Sibley family shows him to have been well born. His ancestors were English. His father was chief justice Solomon Sibley, of Detroit, whose immediate ancestors attained prominence in early New England history and were all of thoroughly Puritan stock. The mother of Henry Hastings Sibley was Sarah Whipple Sproat, and was the daughter of a Revolutionary soldier, Col. Ebenezer Sproat, a family of subsequent distinction in both Ohio and Michigan.

The Sibley family were in Detroit during the War of 1812, and during the disgraceful surrender of the fort by General Hull to General Brock, the British commander. When the attack was made upon the city, Mrs. Sibley was holding in her arms her youngest child, Henry Hastings, while she was making cartridges for the soldiers, or scraping lint for the wounded. To the memory of this good and noble woman, Mrs. Ellet, in

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her admirable volume, "The Pioneer Women of the West," pays a beautiful and touching tribute.

Young Sibley was thus by heredity born to an adventurous career. He was educated in the academy at Detroit, and received during two years a polishing course of Greek and Latin under an Episcopal clergyman. Then followed two years of study in the law. But this was irksome work for one who longed for outdoor pursuits and a more stirring life. Of his own accord he entered upon a career of his own choosing. In 1828, in his eighteenth year, he turned his steps to the West, never again to return to his home, except as a transient guest.

He first found employment as a clerk at Sault Sainte Marie in a sutler's store. This and subsequent employment familiarized young Sibley with Indian affairs, and opened the way for an important clerkship in the American Fur Company, of which John Jacob Astor, of New York, was the head. This company gathered furs and pelts from vast regions in the Northwest. Sibley's first employment was at Mackinac, then the central depot of the great fur company, second only to that of the Hudson Bay Company. There he met Robert Stuart, the head and embodiment of the fur company itself. Under the tutorship of that distinguished trader, he learned the entire business of traffic with the Indians. Here he also became intimate with Henry R. Schoolcraft, who was ever afterward his warm personal friend. The five years he spent with this great company advanced

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him to high responsibilities and to the practical control of its business.

In 1834, John Jacob Astor sold his entire interest to a new corporation of which Ramsay Crooks, father of the late Colonel William Crooks, of St. Paul, was chosen president. Into this new company came Hercules L. Dousman and Joseph Rolette, Sr., and also young Sibley; and the latter, largely upon Dousman's recommendation, was to push into the wilderness and take exclusive control of the direct trade with the Sioux Indians from Lake Pepin to the British line. This business arrangement decided the tenor of young Sibley's whole subsequent career. In his twenty-third year, he succeeded Alexis Bailly, a well known trader, in charge of the company's headquarters post, at the junction of the Mississippi and St. Peter's rivers, at a point subsequently called Mendota. On the 7th day of November, 1834, the young adventurer first set foot on that soil which was destined to be the theater of the activities of his stirring life. The only friendly object in sight was the starry flag floating from the turret of Fort Snelling, erected by the War Department in 1820.

With his accustomed energy, in 1835-36, he erected two massive stone buildings, one a warehouse, the other a substantial stone residence, the first stone dwelling-house ever erected in Minnesota or Dakota. For nine years, from 1834 to 1843, he lived there in baronial state, pursuing with ardor the ever growing interests of the fur company. The long and unoccupied winters gave great

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opportunity for study, and he caused to be sent to him from Detroit and St. Louis works of the highest merit, such as those of Gibbon, Hume, Rollin, Cooper's and Scott's novels, and other kindred works, the first valuable collection of books brought to Minnesota.

There he became acquainted with all the early missionaries, Protestant and Catholic alike, and bore frequent testimony, in his letters and addresses, to their devotion and zeal for the welfare of the red men. Samuel W. Pond and Gideon H. Pond, Stephen R. Riggs, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, and William T. Boutwell, were all his friends. Nor less friendly was the relation he sustained to those noble Catholic pioneers, Father Galtier, Father Ravoux, and Father Cretin, subsequently Bishop of St. Paul.

Among the sturdy pioneer traders, who were his early associates, were such strong men as Joseph R. Brown, Joseph Renville, Louis Provencalle, William A. Aitkin, the two Faribaults, Alexis Bailly, Norman W. Kittson, Martin McLeod, Franklin Steele, Henry M. Rice, Philander Prescott, W. H. Forbes, the Morrisons, Charles H. Oakes, Dr. C. W. W. Borup, and other really remarkable and widely known men, who carried into our untrodden wilderness the seeds of the coming civilization. Never was a new state blessed with a braver or more intellectual body of men than that stalwart band of pioneers who, in the vigor of youth, gave their energies and indomitable courage to the building of the young empire of Minnesota. These men gathered around

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Sibley as the Greek heroes about Ajax. He was the central figure of pre-territorial and territorial times.

It was during these early years that Sibley became famous as a Nimrod among the hunters and Indians of the Northwest. With the rifle he was almost an unerring shot. Ducks, geese, elk, and deer, often filled his commissary department with abundant stores. His well organized hunting expeditions, with trained dogs and Indians, often hunted buffalo and elk over the great counties which now comprise the cultivated empire of Southern Minnesota.

But nine years of this varied and romantic life brought him to an event which was personally of the greatest importance. He changed his mode of life from a bachelor's to a benedict's.

Henry Hastings Sibley and Sarah Jane Steele were married at Fort Snelling by the post chaplain, Rev. Ezekiel G. Gear, May 2, 1843. He had met this really beautiful young lady in the city of Baltimore, where he had gone as groomsman to the late Franklin Steele, whose sister she was. She was charming in person and bright with intelligence. They lived happily together at Mendota many years, removing to St. Paul in 1862, when he began his military career. This truly good and accomplished woman died at St. Paul May 21, 1869. Mr. Sibley never remarried.

The home of Mr. Sibley at Mendota was ever a mansion of generous hospitality. Men of civil, military, and scientific fame found there, in the remote wilder-

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ness, an elegant home. Such distinguished men as Governor Lewis Cass, of Michigan; Major Stephen H. Long, U. S. A.; Henry R. Schoolcraft, the unquestioned discoverer of the sources of the Mississippi; the noted *savant*, Joseph N. Nicollet; the celebrated John C. Fremont; George Catlin, whose works and paintings of Indian character gave him fame; the well known novelist, Captain Marryatt, were all among the noted guests who enjoyed his princely hospitality. The fame of the Mendota mansion as the abode of hospitality traveled far and wide. Its scenes and rich associations are truly historic, and the building should be preserved by the Historical Society for the memories which enrich its record.

The year 1848 marked an era in the history of Sibley. He was elected as a delegate to the thirtieth Congress from the territory of Wisconsin. During that session of Congress, Wisconsin was admitted as a state with diminished boundaries, leaving all that portion of the former territory of Wisconsin west of the St. Croix river deprived of government representation. It was this residuum of territory, not included in the new born state, that Sibley had been elected to represent. Mr. Sibley defended with marked ability his right to a seat, and after a sharp contest he was admitted by a vote of ninety yeas to sixty-two nays. This result blazed the way for the organization of the territory of Minnesota.

Old Virginia came into possession of the entire "Territory of the Northwest" by virtue of various royal charters. Constructively, it reached from sea to sea.

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But she never claimed jurisdiction except of that territory lying east of the Mississippi and northwest of the Ohio river, keeping her foot off from French dominion. Virginia, by an act of the noblest generosity, ceded, March 1, 1784, this vast domain to the United States forever. This grant was again fully ratified in the celebrated ordinance of 1787, establishing a territory and consecrating the princely domain forever to freedom. Out of it were carved the great states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and a part only of the state of Minnesota. That portion of Minnesota lying west of the Mississippi came from the "Louisiana Purchase." Minnesota thus had a double mother. Her territory passed through many jurisdictions before it became a territorial unit; and the changes on the west side of the Mississippi may be noted in Mr. Sibley's own words, "I was successively a citizen of Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota territories, without changing my residence from Mendota."

The important object of Sibley's mission to Congress was the organization of the territory of Minnesota. After a severe struggle it was organized March 3, 1849. There was but little a territorial delegate in Congress could do for his constituents. The establishment of land offices, the fixing of mail routes, and suggestions as to the control and management of the Indian population, comprised the extent of his work. While in Congress, Sibley took no part in party politics, and was more influential for that reason.

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Alexander Ramsey, of Pennsylvania, had been appointed by the new President, Zachary Taylor, governor of the new made territory; and on June 1, 1849, he issued his proclamation for its organization. The new governor fixed the first day of August for the election of a delegate to Congress from the territory of Minnesota. Mr. Sibley was chosen, receiving without opposition the votes of all the electors in the territory. No political party had yet been formed in the territory, and no partisan distractions yet marred the harmony of his constituents. About November, 1849, party organization made its appearance, but Mr. Sibley's name does not appear in either call.

A multitude of new duties were now devolved upon the delegate from the new born territory. Post roads and military roads were to be established; obstructions to commerce needed to be removed from the great rivers; the frontier must be protected from Indians; treaties were to be negotiated; a capitol building was to be erected; land offices to be established; pre-emption rights to be defended; surveys of public lands to be demanded; the school lands to be assured and protected; and large appropriations should be solicited. Such were the duties now pressing upon the new delegate.

Mr. Sibley was again elected to Congress in 1851, serving in all in that body four years and three months. During all this period, he was assiduous in the performance of every duty which involved the interests of his constituents. His official record is a remarkable one for

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faithful work. Everything he gained for the territory was won by determined struggles in fierce contests. His Congressional career is marked with splendid results for the people of Minnesota, and his great labors in Congress underlie the civil and political structure of our state.

Retiring from Congress, Mr. Sibley returned to his home in Mendota and gave earnest attention to his long neglected private affairs. In October, 1854, he was returned from Dakota county as a member of the Sixth territorial legislature. In that body he was largely instrumental in preventing gigantic schemes of robbery by railroad land jobbery and corruption in connection with the Minnesota and Northwestern railroad company.

In 1857-58, the time was ripe for Minnesota to seek entrance into the sisterhood of states. The population was approaching 200,000. February 23, 1857, Congress passed an "Enabling Act," authorizing the people of the territory to meet in convention at St. Paul and form for themselves a state constitution. An election for this purpose was duly held, June 8, 1857. The delegates so chosen met in St. Paul July 13, at the state capitol. Party feeling ran high. Kansas was "bleeding," and politics were, indeed, acute. The Democratic and Republican parties organized in different chambers of the capitol, and each styled itself "the Constitutional Convention." Sibley was elected chairman of the Democratic convention. Each convention claimed that it was valid, and denounced the other as

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spurious. Party spirit blinded all eyes, and scenes were enacted which, to calm and retrospective vision, were ridiculous. The proceedings of these conventions were published in two separate volumes. After weeks of bitter contention, better counsels prevailed; a committee of "conference and compromise" was appointed; and, adopting the suggestion of Joseph R. Brown, one constitution was agreed upon, on August 29, and was unanimously ratified by a vote of the people October 13, 1857. The Congress approved the constitution and it received the signature of the President, May 11, 1858. Thus, nine years after her organization as a territory, Minnesota shone as a new star in the deep blue of the national flag.

The election for state officers under the new constitution was held October 13, 1857. Henry Hastings Sibley, after much delay, was declared elected governor by a majority of 240, the contest being between himself and Alexander Ramsey. A question arose as to the voting of Indians, the result of the canvassing board was not acquiesced in by the opposition, and the papers of that day fairly glowed with malignity and gall. The returns as finally accepted gave Sibley 17,790 votes, and Ramsey, 17,550.

The year when Sibley became governor, chronicled the greatest financial disaster ever known to the country. The fabric of commerce and trade was shattered, and public and private credit was wrecked. Minnesota was in the slough of the general distress. In the vigorous

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language of Judge C. E. Flandrau, "Towns on paper were thicker than locusts in Egypt. There was little else than towns. Agriculture was hardly known. The current rate of interest was three and five per cent per month. Everybody borrowed all he could to operate in town lots. Then came a succession of failures all over the country. Never was smash more complete." But it gave to the people of Minnesota the salutary lesson that all true wealth comes from the soil, and that honest labor is the substantial foundation of all genuine prosperity.

In the midst of this insanity of speculation, came a most gigantic blunder on the part of the state. The celebrated "Five Million Loan Bill" was the crowning monument of the unreason of the people. This bill, in the form of a constitutional amendment, provided for a loan of the credit of the state to four railroad companies, to the amount of \$5,000,000, on certain restrictive conditions. Governor Sibley himself voted against the measure. But the political opponents of his administration managed to cast the odium of the measure upon the Democrats, and in some degree upon Governor Sibley, though many Republicans shared equally the responsibility of its adoption. It was carried like a whirlwind by a vote of 25,023 in favor, to 6,733 against it. The election occurred on April 15, 1858. The amendment thus passed became a part of the organic law of the state. The railroad companies promptly accepted the conditions, and began work. Governor Sibley notified the companies that, before he would deliver to any of

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these corporations any portion of the state bonds, they must comply with the letter and spirit of the amendment authorizing the loan. However, one of the companies, the Minnesota and Pacific, tendered the governor a trust deed, not in conformity with his requirements, and demanded the issuance of bonds claimed to be due. The governor refused to deliver the bonds, and the company appealed to the supreme court for a peremptory writ to compel their issuance. A majority of the court granted the mandamus, Judge Flandrau dissenting. This act and decision of the court was a direct encroachment upon the prerogative of the executive. The dissenting view of Judge Flandrau was an opinion of clearness, force, and soundness.

We are of the opinion that Governor Sibley, in this transaction, committed a serious error of judgment, and at the same time surrendered his constitutional prerogative of alone exercising the executive function. In this proceeding, he made a majority of the supreme court the governor, *ipso facto*, an authority which he could not surrender or share with any person or tribunal. The decision was an encroachment upon the executive prerogative. The bonds were accordingly issued as prescribed by the mandate of the court. The result was that the companies defaulted, and the whole arrangement was a disastrous failure. The honor of the state was compromised, and we entered upon a period of general disgrace. Had the governor stood firm, how different would our history have been in the sad story of the re-

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sults of the "Five Million Bill." The companies ceased operations, and for the time being the condition of the state was most unhappy.

In all this transaction, the personal and official character of Governor Sibley was untarnished. No one ever questioned the purity of his purposes, and his honor was unassailable. But his best friends afterwards heartily wished that he had refused to obey the writ of the court. The court was only a co-ordinate, and not a superior branch of the state government. The constitution stood above the court, and guaranteed the independence of the executive. The Republicans did not fail to use the "Five Million Loan" to great advantage in the approaching political contest. It was a shibboleth which, whether rightfully or wrongfully used, carried dismay into the ranks of their opponents.

While the Five Million Loan was by far the most important feature of Governor Sibley's administration, minor matters claimed attention. The "Wright County War," so called, occurred during this period. Governor Sibley in a proper manner vindicated the majesty of the law as against mob violence. While much ridicule was sought to be thrown upon the governor in this matter, his determination to resist anarchy and maintain and uphold the majesty of the law through the use of the militia was heartily sustained by every law-abiding citizen.

The two years of his life as executive of the state were well filled with the vast business detail of needs

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incident to a new state. His office as governor expired January 1, 1860. Mighty events were now filling the political world with unusual excitement. The revolt of the country against the aggressions of the slave power; the fugitive slave law; the Dred Scott decision; squatter sovereignty; the Lecompton constitution of Kansas; these, and kindred issues, shook the country as with an earthquake. The Democrats themselves were divided. The northern Democracy was aligned under the lead of Stephen A. Douglas; the southern Democracy was following John C. Breckenridge. In this contest Ex-Governor Sibley enlisted under the banner of Douglas, and, being a delegate to the Charleston convention, he voted for the "Little Giant" fifty-seven times, notwithstanding the defection of most of the Minnesota delegation. Governor Sibley never affiliated with the extreme Democrats of the South. He was a "War Democrat," and was ever loyal to the flag of his country.

Abraham Lincoln was elected president in November, 1860. South Carolina seceded November 20th, 1860. In Charleston Harbor, April 12, 1861, the fatal gun was fired which awoke the nation to arms.

In the midst of the lurid light of the flames of the great Civil War, another woe came to the people of Minnesota. Not if another Vesuvius had opened its sulphurous crater in the beautiful valley of Minnesota, could the people have been taken with greater surprise. A merciless and vengeful enemy, with instinctive secrecy, suddenly burst upon the unsuspecting settlers, and com-

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menced an orgy of butchery of men, women, and children. It began at Acton, in Meeker county, and spread southward till eighteen counties of the state were made hideous with the savage war-whoop of the naked and painted Indians, who, with rifle, scalping knife, and torch, wreaked their fiendish passions upon the unresisting and unsuspecting people, and made of a valley as sweet as Wyoming, a carnival of hell. This is not the place to discuss the causes of this awful tragedy. Little Crow followed as the historic successor of King Philip, Black Hawk, and Tecumseh. He had come with his warriors to repossess the state.

Alexander Ramsey, then governor, in this alarming crisis, turned to Henry Hastings Sibley, his old political antagonist, as the proper man to lead a military force against the savage foe. No man in the land knew the Indian character better than Sibley. He understood their language, their character, their mode of warfare, their purposes, and had thorough knowledge of the country. On the 19th day of August, 1862, he was commissioned by the governor as colonel and commander of the expedition against the hostile Sioux. With creative energy he organized military companies, turned lead pipe into bullets, and found guns and ammunition where none were known to exist, while medical and commissary stores were secured as by enchantment. And yet, with all his energy, a more heterogeneous mass never moved against a foe. His movements seemed slow and conservative because of unpreparedness; yet the results of his

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first campaign disarmed all censure. He relieved Fort Ridgely, saved the most of Major Brown's command at the bloody action at Birch Coulie, re-enforced the retreating column of Colonel Flandrau from New Ulm, protected Mankato, St. Peter, Henderson, and Glencoe, prevented further outrages to an extended frontier, and fought the important battle of Wood Lake, September 22 and 23, 1862.

This battle broke utterly the prestige of Little Crow and his allies and expelled them forever from the state, released three hundred helpless captives at Camp Release, took one thousand five hundred prisoners, and put four hundred twenty-five Indian cut-throats and murderers in irons. The results of the victory were of immense value to the state and to the whole country. One important feature of these results was the confiscation of the large Indian reservation south of the Minnesota river and its opening to settlement and civilization.

President Lincoln at once promoted Colonel Sibley to the rank of a brigadier general in the United States army. This good work was accomplished in one month and six days. He immediately organized a military commission; caused the 425 alleged murderers to be tried, 321 of whom were duly convicted; and 303 were sentenced to capital punishment, whose atrocious crimes surely made them worthy of death. President Lincoln, however, in the clemency of his great heart, remitted the death penalty on all but forty, thirty-eight of whom

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were duly executed by hanging in the city of Mankato December 26th, 1862.

No more tragic scene was ever witnessed on the American continent than when these red-handed murderers, suspended from thirty-eight ropes, fell when the strongly built scaffold dropped as the cable which held the great oak platform was cut by William J. Duly, whose wife had been violated and children murdered by these same barbarians. If the massacre was tragic, not less tragic was the end. The goddess of Justice as she gazed upon the scene must have been content.

The brilliant results of General Sibley's campaign in the fall of 1862, thus closed, did not free the frontier from savage menace. There still existed portions of tribes, with more than five thousand warriors who were still for war. Therefore a second military expedition was more carefully organized and equipped, in the spring of 1863, to drive the whole Sioux nation beyond the Missouri. A force of more than 4,000 men, including infantry, cavalry, and artillery, was concentrated at Camp Pope, and on the 16th of June General Sibley started this army in the general direction of Devil's Lake, in the neighborhood of which the Indians were believed to have rendezvoused.

The field of operations was large and pursuit difficult. The season was excessively hot, and the grasshoppers had ravaged the plains. The column marched over marsh, plain, and mounds, amid clouds of dust,

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and the wind was as the breath of a simoom. The lakes were alkaline, and pure water was scarcely to be found.

Forced marches brought the command to Big Mound, beyond the James river, where a large body of Indians were encamped, and an engagement was at once precipitated, on Friday, July 24, 1863. The savages were defeated and forced back over successive ridges of the rolling prairie, a distance of from ten to fifteen miles. A mistaken order induced the return of the pursuing column in the dead of night and far into the morning, weary and hungry, to the main camp. It would seem to have been good military policy to have had the main force follow the pursuing column and maintain their advantage. Such a purpose was evidently entertained by the commanding general. For early that evening General Sibley called a council of war in his tent and laid before the members the situation. Just where the advance detachments were at that time was not known, but they were believed to be successfully following the enemy. The question submitted by the commanding general to the council was, Should a night march be made to overtake the advance column and close in on the enemy who had been taken unawares? All the field officers present, each in his turn, including the writer, counseled for an immediate night march. Very soon, however, General Sibley advised the regimental officers that no movement would be made that night, and that the camp would not be broken. This was an unfortunate determination. Sibley believed the Indians

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to be in full force and feared a night attack upon his column, with the dispersion of his cattle, which conviction may have controlled his decision.

The result was that two full days were lost to the expedition, for the pursuing column returned, men and horses utterly worn and exhausted, being without water and without food, and were unable to move. The returning force had retraced their steps with sad and almost rebellious hearts. The advantage to be gained was lost, and the enemy had escaped, with time to gather their aged, their women and children, and camp equipment, and to speed on their way to the woods of the Missouri valley. If the order to bivouac on the field had not been given, a night march would have enabled the expedition to overtake the surprised Indian forces, with all their woman, children, aged, and impedimenta, and a final contest would have been had under the most favorable circumstances. Thus it appeared to all his colonels.

The pursuing expedition never again caught up with the flying savages, who made good their escape to the tangled thickets bordering the Missouri river and finally went across that stream. True, the Indian warriors three several times returned to contest the advance of the expedition, their evident purpose being to still further aid in the escape of their families. On July 26, the battle of Dead Buffalo Lake was fought, where the Indians retreated, leaving their dead and wounded on the field. The battle of Stony Lake was fought by

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the returning Indians, Tuesday, July 28, to give their wretched wives and children further relief from the horrors of the pursuit. This was, by far, the most important engagement with the retreating Sioux. Fully 4,000 Sioux warriors confronted the expeditionary forces at three o'clock in the morning, being the largest Indian force that ever faced a white man's army on the American continent. The fiendish yells of the Indians will never be forgotten by those who heard them in the dawn of that day. "The brunt of the conflict was borne by the Tenth regiment, then in front, where the Indian assault was gallantly met and broken."¹ The savages rapidly withdrew from the field.

The force now advanced, with daily skirmishing, to the final engagement at Apple Creek, in the tangled wilderness which lined the Missouri river. After a most painful march through vast thickets, the banks of the Missouri were visible and the Indian camps were seen on the bluffs opposite. They had escaped. This was the terminal point of the expedition, being about 600 miles from St. Paul. There was hope, not realized, that General Alfred Sully with a like expedition on the west side of the river would intercept the flying Sioux. Rockets were sent up and guns fired to attract the attention, if possible, of General Sully, but in vain. It was found subsequently that on that day General Sully was on the Missouri river 163 miles below this expedition. Without

¹General Sibley's personal report of the engagement, Col. J. H. Baker being in command of the Tenth Regiment.

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boats to cross the great river, further pursuit was useless. Rations also were short, so on August 1, 1863, the whole force started on its return. It had been absent two months and three weeks, and had marched nearly 1,200 miles.

It is difficult and embarrassing, even at this distant day, to pass considerate judgment upon the merits of the Sibley campaign to the Missouri river in 1863. If to drive the Sioux across the Missouri was the object of the expedition, it was a triumphant success. But it must ever remain a historic fact that a single night's march would have marvelously changed the results of the expedition by the probable overthrow and capture of practically the entire Sioux force, together with their families, not less than 8,000 souls.

General Sibley was a careful and considerate commander, and every military movement he made was inspired by the best motives and the purest patriotism. As compared with other campaigns against hostile Indians, conducted by able, noted, and experienced officers, no such important and effective blows were ever given in the history of this country to frontier savages as those of General Sibley's two campaigns. With comparatively little loss to his own force, he made our frontiers secure forever against Indian incursions. Between Generals Sibley and Sully, over 500 Indians were killed and wounded, and nearly 2,500 prisoners were taken. General Sibley will rank, historically, among the very foremost of the country's Indian fighters. He was a better

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and safer commander for not having the dash of Custer. He possessed the courage of Harney, the caution of William Henry Harrison. He had not the ardor of Anthony Wayne, but he had his wise and prudent skill in preparing for a campaign or an engagement.

He fought greater Indian battles than William Henry Harrison in his contest against Tecumseh at Tippecanoe, which made him President of the United States. His campaign against the Sioux would have riveted the eyes of the country and the civilized world, had not public attention been so overwhelmingly absorbed by the gigantic struggle of the Civil War.

His Indian campaigns being closed, General Sibley returned to his home in St. Paul, where a cordial welcome was given him. He resumed his place in the ranks of citizenship, and positions of trust and responsibility soon came to him. Meantime he was retained in his military position and appointed on a military commission to negotiate treaties with the Sioux and Cheyennes on the upper Missouri. This work was promptly and satisfactorily accomplished, and others of a kindred nature followed.

But he finally retired from government service in 1866, to devote himself to his private affairs. Before his retiring, as a further reward for his military services, the rank of major general, by brevet, was conferred upon him. Now that he was again a citizen, many honors were showered upon him. He was elected president of the St. Paul Gas Light Company, in which ca-

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capacity he served for twenty-three years. He was made president of the state normal board; president of the board of regents of the state university; president of the chamber of commerce in St. Paul; president of the Minnesota Club; and commander of the Loyal Legion, a fitting honor for his military service, and it is of record that one of his ancestors belonged to the "Order of the Cincinnati."

Among all the honorary offices that came to him, the one nearest his heart was his election as president of the Minnesota Historical Society. He had been a charter member of this Society in 1849. General Sibley was of methodical tastes and habits. He was always careful to preserve every paper and document of any value that was sent to him, and to this trait and disposition is due the existence of the invaluable letters and documents called "The Sibley Papers," which are now among the collections of this Society's Library. Portions of his private library, and these invaluable papers and manuscripts, were bequeathed to this Society. They are of great historic value, covering a period of sixty years.

For several years, in advanced age, he fought a vigorous battle to preserve inviolate the faith and credit of the state in the matter of the yet unadjusted railroad bonds. During a period of twenty-four years this issue perplexed our state politics. The whole affair was unfortunate, but the bonds outstanding were issued by the authority and under the seal of the state, and the

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honor of Minnesota required their adjustment, which was finally accomplished after repeated attempts, under the administration of Governor Pillsbury, in October, 1881.

Through all his declining years, there was continuous demand by the public for his counsel and advice on public questions. In 1880, at that great "Bi-Centennial Anniversary of the Discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony," he was chosen president, and was himself the central figure of the august ceremonies.

November 7, 1884, on the completion of fifty years of his active and useful life in the service of Minnesota, his friends tendered him a sumptuous banquet, beautiful with flowers, and graced by the presence of the *élite* of St. Paul. In response to an appropriate toast, Cushman K. Davis paid him as elegant and touching a tribute as ever fell from the lips of that distinguished orator.

The universities of the land did not overlook the merits of this worthy son of Minnesota. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Princeton College, June 25, 1888. No other Minnesotan ever received so many signal marks of public esteem, and he wore all these honors unclouded by a single stain.

In his waning years he lived at his elegant home in St. Paul, surrounded by every comfort, with members of his own family who watched him with assiduous care, and in the complete enjoyment of the esteem and love of the people of the state.

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Mrs. Sibley died May 21, 1869, lamented by a large circle of loving friends. She was a lady of rare virtues and accomplishments, and was in every way fitted to adorn the high station in life it was her fortune to occupy. They lived together twenty-six years of happy married life. Two beautiful children died in his absence while he was leading the expedition against the Sioux in 1863. These losses bore heavily upon the general, and bowed his stalwart form with age. In all, this goodly pair lost five children. The family register shows nine children, as follows: Augusta, who became Mrs. Captain Douglas Pope; Henry Hastings, who died in infancy; a second Henry Hastings, who also died in infancy; Sarah Jane, who became Mrs. Elbert A. Young; Franklin Steele, deceased; Mary Steele, deceased; Alexander, deceased; Charles Frederick; and Alfred Bush.

General Sibley died at his residence, 417 Woodward avenue, St. Paul, February 18, 1891, at 4:30 o'clock, A. M., in the eightieth year of his age. The Loyal Legion laid him, with loving hands, in a soldier's grave. The services were those of the Episcopal church, conducted by Bishop M. N. Gilbert. His casket was covered with a profusion of flowers, and, followed by a most distinguished cortége, was laid away in Oakland Cemetery.

Thus ended the career of Minnesota's most princely pioneer. His name had become a household word in the state, and his active life was interwoven with all our history. A loving and admiring people have perpet-

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uated his name in county, town, and streets. During later years his polished pen was never idle, as shown by his lectures, addresses, and a most valuable list of papers delivered before the Historical Society, to which he was always warmly attached. He was prominent in social as well as official life, and his hospitable home was the center of a wide circle of friends. Authors, tourists, journalists, artists, and strangers who visited St. Paul, were sure to call on its distinguished citizen. The writer came to serve under him in the Sioux War with preconceived prejudices. Experience taught him to correct his judgment and revise his opinions. General Sibley was first of all a gentleman. Every act of his daily life bespoke the well-bred man. He was truly a baron of the border, and was surrounded by a body of remarkable men, who were chiefs to their clan in that day; but it is easy to note that Sibley was the Douglas of them all.

His work, as if foreordained, was to deliver the wilderness over to civilization. Nobly was it accomplished, and the barbaric past is now but as a tale that is told. What a history, what events, what memories, crowd upon us as we survey the grand panorama of this man's life! It is an unwritten Iliad from savage time to the present consummate glory of our august state. As a commander in Indian warfare, he surely was never surpassed, if ever equalled. Anthony Wayne or General Custer would have fought at times when Sibley remained in his camp. But we recall the fearful disaster which befell Braddock when he neglected to guard against sur-

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prise. He was the most impressive force in the early and plastic period of our commonwealth.

As Washington stands for the infant nation, so Sibley stands for our infant state. He is the bright consummate flower of our earlier days, and the Muse of History, in her final decrees, ever loyal to truth and justice, will write the name of Henry Hastings Sibley, the pioneer, the statesman, and the soldier, far up in that pantheon which will preserve the fame of those who have best served the state.

The message of Governor Sibley to the first legislature of this state, June 3, 1858, was published in the Journal of the Senate, pages 372-379, and also separately as a pamphlet of 15 pages. Its last paragraphs are these:

Minnesota enters the Union as the thirty-second state. She extends a friendly hand to all her sisters, north and south, and gives them the assurance that she joins their ranks—not to provoke sectional discord or to engender strife—not to enlist in a crusade against such of them as differ with her in the character of their domestic institutions—but to promote harmony and good will, and to lend her aid, on all occasions, in maintaining the integrity of the Union.

Having been elected to the position of Chief Magistrate of the new state of Minnesota, I enter upon the discharge of the duties devolving upon me with much diffidence of my own abilities, but with a full consciousness that they will be honestly performed. Expecting to be held to a rigid accountability for the course of my administration, I shall exact from those officials for whose actions I may be in any manner responsible, an equally strict execution of the trusts that may be imposed upon them. For nearly twenty-four years I have been a resident of what is now the state of Minnesota, and I have watched each change in the condition of the country up to its present state of development, with much solicitude. I have no objects and no interests which are not inseparably bound up with the welfare of the state, and it is my highest ambition so to conduct her public affairs, that, when my official

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term shall expire, there will be found no blot on her escutcheon, and no departure, for which I can be made justly responsible, from those principles of integrity and sound democratic policy which have been the means, under Providence, of placing the American Union in the high position it now holds in the estimation of the world.

In his second and last message to the legislature, December 8, 1859, published in the Journal of the Senate, pages 10-27, and also in a pamphlet of 28 pages, Sibley referred to the strife between the North and the South, as follows:

The slavery question has for years been the fruitful source of sectional discord, and will continue to alienate the affections of the two great parts of the Union from each other, so long as it can be dragged into the arena of politics. When the principle of non-intervention on the part of Congress with the domestic institutions of the states, or organized territories, shall be fully established as a part of the public policy, and the same doctrine is made applicable to the several states and territories, no one being permitted to interfere in any manner with the domestic affairs of another, we may confidently expect to see the bonds of fraternal kindness fully restored between the North and South, and the only element of danger to the integrity of the confederacy wholly dissipated and removed.

It is the duty of Minnesota, and that of every other state, to promote harmony and good will between the different sections, and to frown upon all endeavors to exasperate one part of our common country against the other. God has given us a noble heritage, and while we enjoy the blessings of perfect freedom, religious as well as civil, we should bear in mind that we shall be held justly responsible for any failure on our part to transmit them unimpaired to our descendants.

Governor Sibley contributed the following papers in the Minnesota Historical Society Collections:

Description of Minnesota, a letter dated February 15, 1850 (Volume I, 1872, pages 37-42; 1902, pages 19-24).

Speech before the Committee on Elections of the House of Representatives in Congress, December 22, 1848 (Vol. I, 1872, pp. 69-76; 1902, pp. 47-54).

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Memoir of J. N. Nicollet (Vol. I, 1872, pp. 183-195; 1902, pp. 146-156).

Reminiscences, Historical and Personal; an address at the annual meeting of this society, February 1, 1856 (Vol. I, 1872, pp. 457-485; 1902, pp. 374-396).

Sketch of John Other Day (Vol. III, 1880, pp. 99-102).

Memoir of Jean Baptiste Faribault (Vol. III, pp. 168-179).

Memoir of Hercules L. Dousman (Vol. III, pp. 192-200).

Reminiscences of the Early Days of Minnesota (Vol. III, pp. 242-282).

Tribute to the Memory of Rev. John Mattocks (Vol. III, pp. 307-310).

Memorial of Rev. Gideon H. Pond (Vol. III, pp. 364-366).

ALEXANDER RAMSEY

SECOND GOVERNOR OF MINNESOTA

January 2, 1860, to July 10, 1863

The complete biography
of Governor Ramsey will
be found on pages 3 to
46 inclusive.

HENRY ADONIRAM SWIFT

THIRD GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

July 10, 1863, to January 11, 1864

IN Maple Grove Cemetery, at Ravenna, Ohio, there sleeps, in his last long sleep, the third governor of Minnesota, Henry Adoniram Swift. He was a remarkable and uncommon man in the distinguishing features of his personal character. He was of a rare and delicate mould, and really devoid of political ambition. What came to him in the way of official position was conferred by his fellow citizens because of their belief in his special fitness and endowment for the place they wished him to occupy. He never personally sought an office nor solicited a recommendation for one. He is the only one of our governors of whom this could be truthfully said. And of how many men in this nation, who have enjoyed political preferment, can this be affirmed?

Henry Adoniram Swift was born in Ravenna, Ohio, March 23, 1823. He was the second son and the third child of Isaac and Eliza Swift. He was of Revolutionary stock; but, as Voltaire was wont to say, "He who serves his country well has no need of ancestors." Yet we record the genealogical fact that the Swifts could trace their lineage back to the Pilgrim Fathers. His

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grandfather, Dr. Isaac Swift, was a Revolutionary patriot, and being a surgeon, was appointed a surgeon in the army under his cousin, Col. Herman Swift, and in that capacity he served during the year of 1776.

The Swifts came from England. They settled at Watertown, several miles west of Boston, in 1634. Bancroft (Vol. II, page 97) relates how Governor Thomas Mayhew, who settled at Watertown in 1631 and who was related to the Swifts, received a good grant of land from the Earl of Sterling,—Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and the Elizabeth Islands. So we see they were well connected. Swift's father, like his grandfather, was also a physician, Dr. Isaac Swift, and was from Cornwall, Connecticut. He was graduated at Columbia College, New York.

In the spring of 1815, Dr. Swift started west on horseback, with his diploma in his pocket, and all his effects in a portmanteau. Finally he reached Ravenna, Ohio, where, his horse being sick, he was compelled to stop. He became the guest of one Salmon Carter, who kept a hotel. Carter soon made it known that he had a physician in his house, and as there were many sick in the new settlement, he came unexpectedly into professional employment which determined his location for life.

In 1818 Dr. Swift married Miss Eliza Thompson. Her family had come from Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and had also settled in Ravenna. Here this goodly couple lived for over fifty years, honored and beloved by

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all. And here, at the ripe age of eighty-four, Dr. Swift died, and ten years later his wife died at the same age.

Young Swift attended the schools of his native town till the dawn of manhood, when his father sent him to the Western Reserve College, at Hudson, Ohio, where he was graduated with high honors in 1842. Henry A. Swift and Cushman K. Davis are the only ones of our governors who received a complete collegiate classical education, carried away their diplomas with a well-earned A. B., and finally had an A. M. attached to their names.

Not long after his graduation, young Swift made a trip South to look the world over and see what there was for him to do. On the boat he met a wealthy planter, who, being much pleased with the young man, at once engaged him as a tutor for his children on his plantation in Mississippi. The one great question of the day was that of slavery, and throughout all the South they were suspicious of Northern men; and Swift, being from the Western Reserve, was at once denounced as an abolitionist. His mail was inspected, and, in general, it became so uncomfortable that save for the influence of his patron he might not have left the community alive. It is of record that in the immediate vicinity in which he taught, a man denounced as an "abolitionist" was killed, and his body, cut to pieces and placed in a box, was floated down the Mississippi as a warning to all such persons. Swift, however, safely returned to his Northern home, deeply imbued with anti-

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slavery views which he maintained with vigor to the end of his life.

At home once more, young Swift studied law with Messrs. Tilden and Ranney, and was admitted to the bar in October, 1845. The winter of 1846-47 he spent in Columbus, Ohio, as assistant clerk of the House of Representatives. The ensuing year he was chosen chief clerk of the legislature. It was during this period of his life that he made the acquaintance of Miss Ruth Livingston, a very accomplished young lady of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. She was a graduate of the Female Seminary of her native city, but with her parents had removed to Pittsburg, Pa. In 1851 their marriage occurred, and they at once settled to housekeeping in Ravenna. He devoted himself to the law and also acted as secretary of the Portage County Insurance Company.

For some time Mr. Swift had cast longing eyes toward the great Northwest, as the mighty cradle of great empires and abounding in great opportunities. In the early spring of 1853, with his wife and infant daughter, he bade adieu to the Western Reserve and started for St. Paul, Minnesota. The route was circuitous. He went to Pittsburg, thence down the Ohio river to St. Louis, and after much delay as to boats got one to Galena, Illinois, and finally another to St. Paul, making a journey of nearly two thousand miles and of three weeks duration. In a letter home after his arrival in St. Paul he says: "St. Louis is the smartest business place I ever saw. I did not expect to find 'Uncle Tom's

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Cabin' exposed for sale and placarded in every bookstore in the city. I asked one bookseller if they sold well, and his reply was, 'I don't sell anything else.' I hope, the next time I visit the place, to find that work has brought down one sign I saw there, which read 'Negroes bought and sold here.'"

March 3, 1849, Congress passed the bill authorizing the organization of the Territory of Minnesota, and June 1, Alexander Ramsey, the newly appointed governor, issued a proclamation declaring the territory duly organized. In his message to the legislature, the Governor gives this description of St. Paul as he found it in 1853: "It was then a village of a dozen frame houses and some eight or ten log buildings with bark roofs." The steamer on which the Governor came did not have a pound of freight for St. Paul.

On his arrival in this embryo city, in May, 1853, Mr. Swift set to work building a home for his family on College avenue. It was afterward sold to E. S. Edgerton. He at once opened an office as a real estate and insurance agent. He remained in St. Paul about three years, devoting his time and energies to the upbuilding of the young commonwealth in many ways. In 1856 he sold his property and invested his money in the "St. Peter Company," which was the name of the association seeking to build a new city, and to secure the state capital, far up the Minnesota river, but as yet without a single house. Such was the measureless faith the young man had in the future of Minnesota.

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For some inexplicable reason Mr. Swift's name is not mentioned in the "History of the Minnesota Valley," a pretentious volume of over one thousand pages, purporting to give an account of all the leading men of the great Minnesota valley. Yet he was one of the charter members of the "St. Peter Land Company," and played as important a part as any man connected with it, and was perhaps the best known man in Nicollet county at that period.

It was in the fall of 1853 that Captain William B. Dodd made a claim of 160 acres on which a part of St. Peter now stands. The place was called "Rock Bend." Subsequently, William and Oliver Ames took claims by the side of Captain Dodd's, extending the city on paper. A stock company was organized in February, 1854, and the land above mentioned, including about five hundred acres in all, was laid out in a townsite and the name was changed to St. Peter, this name being given the city of hope from the name of the river.

The early years of Swift's residence in St. Peter were years of hardship and privations incident to frontier life, yet he and his excellent wife bore them all patiently. He threw his soul and energies into the task of building up the town of his early affections. In this way it is not too much to say that he became the idol of the young community, so universally was he beloved and esteemed. The winter of 1857-58 he spent in Washington, trying to secure a grant of lands for railroads in the new territory, and aiding in the work of gaining

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admission for the new state, to which much opposition had developed from political causes. During this active period, he built a fine residence on Main street, in St. Peter, which he occupied during the residue of his life. It became an historic spot, and has been kept as much as possible, in its general features, as he left it.

He suffered, as did all the early settlers, from the financial crash in 1857. It was in February, 1857, that the territorial legislature passed the celebrated bill removing the state capital from St. Paul to St. Peter. It was a bitter fight, in which St. Peter eventually lost. In consequence of this defeat, property in St. Peter rapidly depreciated. This, and the financial crash of 1857, greatly embarrassed Mr. Swift, and it was many years of effort before he re-established himself in comfortable circumstances.

At this time Mr. Swift's general fitness and qualifications induced the people of his district to nominate him for Congress as a Republican, without solicitation on his part. It was a heated canvass, and, as he appeared often upon the stump, he won the good opinion even of his opponents by the fair, candid, and manly way in which he spoke and deported himself. His party was defeated, and the Hon. James M. Cavanaugh was elected, but Mr. Swift gained in popularity and standing.

In 1861 Mr. Swift was elected to the state senate, and served during the two sessions of 1862 and 1863. The convention which nominated him met at Henderson.

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Sibley county, and nominated the Hon. M. J. Severance for senator. But for some unexplained reason, Mr. Severance immediately declined the honor, and the convention at once substituted the name of Mr. Swift. Thus it came to pass that the declination of Mr. Severance opened the door for the advance of Mr. Swift to gubernatorial honors in a manner wholly unforeseen.

Senator Swift took his seat in the senate in January, 1862. His courteous, genial, and manly ways soon won the good will of the entire senate. He seldom spoke, but when he did his reasoning always carried conviction. One important measure to which he gave considerate attention was an act for the "Organization and Regulation of Independent School Districts." It contained the basis of the present school system, of which the state is so justly proud.

The news of the terrible Sioux outbreak, which occurred August 18, 1862, struck fear into all hearts on the frontier. The news was brought to St. Peter the evening of the same day. On receipt of this news, Senator Swift asked William G. Hayden, for many years auditor of Nicollet county, to accompany him to New Ulm the next day, and the two left St. Peter in a buggy about noon, Tuesday, the 19th. In the meantime, A. M. Bean with sixteen men, well armed, had already started from Nicollet and reached New Ulm about one o'clock. About a hundred Indians under Little Crow, made their appearance about four o'clock, and began an attack, shouting and yelling like demons. Very

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soon after the battle began Senator Swift and Captain L. M. Boardman, sheriff of the county, with sixteen well armed men arrived on the scene, and, taking an active part, turned the tide of battle, with the result that the Indians withdrew at dusk. This constituted the first defense of New Ulm, and it was vitally important as it unquestionably saved the people of New Ulm from massacre. Senator Swift's prompt action in aiding in rallying men and going to that place with the others, on Tuesday, the 19th of August, was probably the salvation of the town.

In Charles E. Flandrau's official roster of his company, called the "St. Peter Frontier Guards," we find Senator Swift's name as a private serving from the 19th to the 26th of August, 1862, and being in the first and second battle of New Ulm. In the St. Peter Tribune, published contemporaneously with the event, we find Swift's name with that of his companion Hayden as two of the company of eighteen men who arrived in New Ulm on the 19th and took an active and gallant part in the first defense of the town. From the best information available, it is probable that Swift returned the next day towards St. Peter to guide Capt. Charles E. Flandrau's company to the ferry and to New Ulm, for Flandrau states in his official report that Swift was his guide from some point to the ferry. In the second attack, on the 23rd, Mr. Swift exhibited the greatest courage and bravery throughout that bloody engagement. His constant exposure in heavy rains and inclement

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weather, while on guard, and other severe duties, brought upon him a disease from the effects of which his delicate constitution never recovered. His home for more than a month was filled with the sick and wounded from this terrible Indian raid.

During Senator Swift's second term as state senator, Lieutenant Governor Ignatius Donnelly resigned his position, having been elected to Congress, in which body he was to take his seat March 4, 1863. The senate so highly appreciated Senator Swift's abilities and general demeanor that he was unanimously elected president of the senate, to fill the vacancy. Subsequently, this same legislature elected Governor Alexander Ramsey to the United States Senate; and Senator Swift, being now his legal successor, was thus, by rapid and unexpected promotion, made governor of Minnesota, July 10, 1863.

His message to the legislature, delivered January 11, 1864, is an excellent document, covering the condition of the state and country expressed in a clear and forcible manner. It is replete with many practical suggestions touching railroads, financial questions, and the State University, and it closes with an elegant peroration reviewing the great national struggle then in its last stages. It is notable for its exalted patriotism, and demonstrates the Governor's ability to wield a vigorous and classic pen.

It was during his administration that Captain James L. Fisk, by authority of the general government, made his celebrated trip to the new gold fields of Mon-

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tana, and thus demonstrated the superiority of the Minnesota route to the new discoveries, and indicated it to be the best route for a northern line of railway to the Pacific. It was during this period, also, that Little Crow, the leader and master spirit of the Sioux outbreak, was killed by Nathan Lamson and his son near Hutchinson. During this same period, a most important treaty was made by Senator Ramsey with the Red Lake and Pembina bands of Chippewa Indians, acquiring the valley of the Red river, extinguishing the Indian title to some 10,000 square miles of rich territory, and opening for settlement an extension to the state of immeasurable value. Solicitude and care for our soldiers in the field demanded and received the most considerate attention from Governor Swift. It was just before the beginning of his administration, on the 2d and 3d of July, 1863, that the First Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers, on whose standards the names of twenty battles were already written, entered the very vortex of the conflict at Gettysburg, and added to its immortal roll the gallant charge with which its name is forever identified. With Governor Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, Swift arranged the purchase of the ground on which that greatest battle of modern times was fought, and thus gave our brave dead a shrine safe from profanation. And there Abraham Lincoln, on the 19th of November, 1864, delivered one of the most memorable orations recorded in human history.

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The last call for troops, 300,000, was made after Swift assumed office. Minnesota, under this call, was in debt on her contingent 1,300 men. Governor Swift proposed to compromise this demand by raising a regiment of cavalry to be employed in protecting our frontier against the hostile Indians, which request was granted.

It was during the closing days of his administration that Minnesota enjoyed immigration in an unprecedented degree, which was estimated, for a large part of the year, at one thousand per day. His administration was a notable success in every department.

There was a general desire that Governor Swift should be a candidate to succeed himself. The St. Paul Daily Press voiced the universal sentiment when it said: "We know of no one on whom executive honors would sit with more grace and fitness, and no one more worthy in his private and public character to fill the gubernatorial chair than Governor Swift."

He was repeatedly urged to permit the use of his name as a candidate by the important leaders of the Republican party, but he steadfastly declined, and in August, 1863, the St. Paul Press contained an authoritative statement from the governor that under no circumstances would he be a candidate. The announcement was received with general regret by all parties, and his nomination was really a foregone conclusion if he would accept. Stephen Miller was placed in nomination to succeed him.

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Subsequently, at the earnest solicitation of his friends in St. Peter, he did consent to become again a member of the state senate. During this period he was urged to be a candidate for the United States Senate, there being a vacancy. Although he refused, his friends still voted for him; but as he made no effort whatever to secure the position, Daniel S. Norton was nominated. After the convention which nominated Stephen Miller as his successor as governor, he wrote to his wife expressing his complete satisfaction in not permitting his name to be presented, as he wished to be at home with her and his family, who were more to him than any political honors whatever. In another letter to his wife, referring to the United States senatorial election, he said: - "I am very much relieved and pleased that this senatorial contest is over as it is, and *for a few minutes I was afraid I might be elected.*"

During the summer of 1865 he was appointed register of the St. Peter Land Office, with a salary of \$3,000 a year. This position he held till his death, and greatly enjoyed it because he could be with his family in their own home.

In January, 1868, on the occasion of the golden wedding of his honored parents, he visited his old home in Ravenna, Ohio, for the last time.

About one year after this golden anniversary, Governor Swift was taken with typhoid fever. His attending physician was Dr. A. W. Daniels, a man eminent in his profession and the Governor's warm personal friend.

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For three weeks it seemed to be a very mild case, but after that period there came a relapse, and he gradually grew worse till his death came at 10 A. M., February 25, 1869. His demise cast a gloom not only over his family and his city, but over the entire state. The flag was placed at half-mast on the state capitol. His funeral did not occur till March 3, to give time for his aged parents to come from Ravenna, Ohio. The Rev. A. H. Kerr, his friend and pastor and a chaplain of the Civil War, officiated. His funeral was attended by the community at large, and by many noted persons from abroad. He was forty-five years of age at the time of his death, falling in the very prime of his manhood. Many fine tributes of respect for his noble life and his public services appeared in numerous papers of the state.

Governor Swift was an active member of the Minnesota Historical Society, and that body passed resolutions in honor of his life and public services, and its secretary, Mr. J. F. Williams, published an excellent memoir of the governor in Volume III of the Society's Historical Collections.

About six months after his death his body was removed to Maple Grove Cemetery, Ravenna, Ohio, where he sleeps with his family.

To the happy marriage heretofore mentioned, five children were born. December, 1863, a daughter, ten years old, died of diphtheria. About one month later an only son, four years old, died of scarlet fever. In 1866 an infant child was taken away. His friends have al-

HENRY ADONIRAM SWIFT.

ways asserted that these bereavements cast an ineffaceable shadow upon his life, and had much to do with his subsequent aversion to a public career. He seemed then to have resolved that no official position should deprive him of the society of his wife and two remaining daughters. These two daughters are still living, and were both married before the death of their mother. The elder, Margaret Livingston Swift, was married to William M. Spackman, a prominent lawyer of the city of New York, where she still resides. Mary Eliza Swift, a refined lady, was married to the Hon. Gideon S. Ives, then of St. Peter, who had been a soldier in the Union army, and who subsequently was mayor of St. Peter, a state senator, and lieutenant governor of the state. He is now a leading lawyer in St. Paul, and a man of commanding position in the state.

The memory of Governor Swift will ever be held in the highest regard by the people of the state. The integrity of his character, his fidelity to public duty, his exemplary and spotless life as a citizen, and his devotion to family ties, made him a model worthy of the regard and admiration of the youth of Minnesota. Governor Swift was one of the most interesting personalities of his day. A politician in spite of himself, he played a role given to but few men. Where others, however aspiring and diligent, failed, he obtained honors without effort. His private life was stainless. He was singularly amiable, and of unblemished personal purity in all the relations of family or society. His unruffled good

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nature always made him an agreeable companion. His marked characteristic was his persistent hostility to public life. He seemed utterly devoid of ambition and resisted all offers or opportunities of public preferment. His love of home and family overcame all the attractions of official distinction. He had absolute confidence in his political principles, and never, for an instant, swerved from their earnest support. In his inveterate hostility to slavery he was, undoubtedly, an abolitionist. Born and reared in the atmosphere of the Western Reserve, in Ohio, his anti-slavery convictions were of native growth, and they were surely nursed and strengthened by his experiences in the South. If Joshua R. Giddings was an abolitionist, then Henry A. Swift was one also.

He was of strong religious habits and convictions. He is the one man, among all our public men, who ever turned a deaf ear to all the allurements of political preferment.

The annual message of Governor Swift, January 11, 1864, was published as a pamphlet and as the first paper (33 pages) in the Executive Documents of the state of Minnesota for the year 1863 (St. Paul, 1864). He alluded to the gallant charge of the First Minnesota Regiment in the battle of Gettysburg, as follows:

The past year has added new lustre to the achievements of our troops. On nearly every important battle field of the war, their graves are strewn to mark the glorious share of Minnesota in the progressive triumphs of the Union cause. * * *

HENRY ADONIRAM SWIFT.

On the second and third of July, the first of the gallant regiments which Minnesota has sent to the field—that regiment which already has the names of twenty battles written upon its standard—took a prominent part in one of the fiercest struggles of the war. Of the 330 men of the First Minnesota who had survived the disasters and triumphs of the Virginia campaigns from Bull Run to Chancellorsville, to plunge again with its shattered ranks and bullet-riddled flag into the vortex of the conflict at Gettysburg, but ninety-two emerged unharmed from the smoke and glorious issue of the struggle. One hundred and seventy-five were wounded and fifty-one more were added to the immortal roll of its dead heroes, to find a sepulchre with over twenty-one hundred other brave men from other States, in the cemetery where they fell.

Of the loyalty of both the great political parties of the North in their devotion to the preservation of the Union, he said:

* * * Party spirit and party prejudices were buried and forgotten in the all absorbing patriotism of the American people, and if they have since revived, it has been only for consignment to a more lasting rest, until our country is saved. And among the more than half a million of freemen who are doing battle today in the holiest cause that ever stained a sword, Democrat and Republican stand shoulder to shoulder, camp side by side, knowing only a common cause and a common enemy. It is a sublime lesson to teach the world. It is a glad and useful one for us all, and when this trial shall have ended, in the bright career of glory that awaits us, no man of this generation can ever forget that in the breast of a political opponent the heart swells as fervently with patriotic love as in his own. And God grant that out of this bloody ordeal may come another spectacle for the admiration of all nations, that though brothers have joined in deadly conflict on the field of battle, section been arrayed against section for destruction, yet when the contest is closed in the removal of its incitements and the sure triumph of the Right, the old affection may return in overwhelming tide, and through the prudence, wisdom, and magnanimity of our national councils, the old bond of Union may be strengthened with triple bands.



STEPHEN MILLER.

S T E P H E N M I L L E R

Fourth Governor of the State of Minnesota, was born in Carroll, Perry County, Pennsylvania, January 7, 1816, and died in Worthington, Minnesota, August 18, 1881. In the Civil War he became a brigadier general. After 1871 he engaged in railroad business. He was governor from January 11, 1864, to January 8, 1866; and was a representative in the State Legislature in 1873.

STEPHEN MILLER

FOURTH GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

January 11, 1864, to January 8, 1866

THIS noted son of Pennsylvania was born in Perry county, of that state, January 7, 1861. His grandfather, Melchior Miller, came from Germany about the year 1785. His father was David, and his mother Rosana Darkness Miller. Stephen was educated in the common schools of his native county. His first effort for himself was to learn the milling business. Later, in 1837, he became a forwarding and commission merchant in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. In 1849 and 1852 he was elected prothonotary of Dauphin county. In 1853 to 1855 he edited the Pennsylvania Telegraph, a Whig journal at Harrisburg, and in 1855 to 1858 he was, by appointment of Governor James Pollock, flour inspector at Philadelphia. Some time before this he procured a large canvas tent and itinerated a portion of the state as a temperance lecturer, meeting with much success.

In the spring of 1858, his health being impaired, he removed to St. Cloud, Minnesota, for the purpose of recuperation. There he engaged in the mercantile business with Henry Swisshelm, of Pittsburg, Pa., as a

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partner. Mr. Swisshelm had preceded him, coming to St. Cloud in 1856.

Mr. Miller at once became quite active in local and state politics. He was made delegate to the National Republican convention at Chicago in 1860, and headed the Republican electoral ticket for Lincoln in that year. It was during that celebrated campaign that he held some fifty joint discussions in the principal cities and towns of the state with Gen. C. C. Andrews, who was the Douglas elector. This campaign brought Mr. Miller prominently before the people of the whole state, and it was generally held that he was much the superior in debate.

He was commissioned as receiver in the United States Land Office, March, 1861, and in May of the same year he was offered a captain's commission in the regular army. Both of these appointments he declined.

At the commencement of the Civil War, he and his eldest son, Wesley F. Miller, enrolled themselves as private soldiers in the First Minnesota regiment. This son, after bravely discharging his duty in several battles, being a first lieutenant in the Seventh United States Infantry, was slain at the battle of Gettysburg, July 2, 1863. His second son, Stephen C., also enlisted as a private soldier, in the Sixth Minnesota Volunteers, and was, as a reward for good service, made Commissary of Subsistence, with the rank of captain. He served with General Steele in Arkansas.

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Mr. Miller had been a close friend to Governor Ramsey back in Pennsylvania, and this early friendship served him well in furthering his fortunes in Minnesota. By reason of his great activity in raising recruits for the war, and of his general fitness, Governor Ramsey lifted him from the ranks as a private and commissioned him lieutenant colonel of the First Minnesota regiment, his commission bearing date April 29, 1861. He was then in the prime of manhood, being forty-five years of age.

He served faithfully with the "Old First" in numerous engagements. He commanded the right wing of the First at the battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, when the regiment lost 189 men. He was subsequently engaged with the enemy at Yorktown, May 4, 1862; at West Point, May 6, 1862; in the two battles at Fair Oaks, May 31 and June 1, 1862; in the battles of Peach Orchard and Savage's Station, June 29, 1862; at White Oak Swamp and Nelson's Farm, June 30, 1862; and in the battle of Malvern Hill, July 31, 1862. In these several engagements he personally commanded the regiment, and lost ninety-one men in killed, wounded, and missing. July 2, 1862, he was rear guard on the retreat to Harrison's Landing. September 15, 1862, he was held in reserve at the battle of South Mountain.

On August 24, 1862, he was commissioned colonel of the Seventh regiment of Minnesota infantry, but the order from General Halleck to start west did not reach

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him until September 17, 1862. He left the First regiment for his new command just before the battle of Antietam. Judge William Lochren, in his narrative of that regiment, speaks of him in these complimentary terms: "Here our brave Lieut. Col. Stephen Miller left us, on receipt of his commission as colonel of the Seventh Minnesota regiment. Without military training previous to the organization of our regiment, his bravery was conspicuous on every battlefield, and endeared him to the men, who parted with him with sincere regret."

He had served with marked courage and skill and constant activity from April 1, 1862, to September 17, 1862, in Gorman's brigade, Sedgwick's division, and Sumner's corps. During this time an unfortunate fall from his horse occurred, affecting the small of his back and his kidneys, so as to render him quite unable to ride on horseback. This accounts for his not being in personal command of the Seventh regiment during the two Indian campaigns. After a short rest at home, in St Cloud, he assumed command of the Seventh at Camp Release, and was subsequently placed in command of Camp Lincoln, near Mankato, where he had charge of the three hundred condemned Sioux Indians. December 4, 1862, Camp Lincoln was attacked by a considerable body of citizens with the purpose of killing the Indian prisoners, but by firmness and wisdom he prevented a disgraceful scene.

During December and January, 1862, he was in command of the post of Mankato. It was a difficult and

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perplexing task to care for these Indian prisoners and guard them against an irritated and embittered public. The delays and uncertainties attending the carrying out of the sentence for their execution, as ordered by the court martial, aggravated public sentiment in the state, and especially in the frontier counties. There appeared to be a settled purpose to resort to mob law and violence to dispose of the prisoners. But Colonel Miller, though sympathizing with public sentiment in believing that summary punishment should be meted out to the condemned murderers, was equally hostile to anything savoring of mob law, and to his heroic firmness is due the fact that all attempts of this character were speedily and thoroughly squelched. By his manly and decisive policy, Colonel Miller won the respect and esteem even of the leaders of this rash policy.

The execution of the thirty-eight condemned Sioux Indians at Mankato, December 26, 1862, was entrusted by General Sibley to Colonel Miller. It was one of the most remarkable events of that exciting period. From a single scaffold, and at one drop, the thirty-eight murderers fell at the same moment to their deserved death. The writer, as an officer in command at the scaffold during the execution, can never forget this extraordinary spectacle, perhaps the most extraordinary ever witnessed on American soil.

From June to September, 1863, Colonel Miller was in command of all the forces in garrison in the District of Minnesota, during the absence of General Sibley on

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the Indian expedition of that year. During this period he was also engaged under the orders of General Sibley in running a line of posts for the defense of the frontier, from Paynesville, Stearns county, south to Fort Ridgely, and thence in a due south course to the Iowa line. The stockades were about ten miles apart, and daily communication was kept up by mounted men.

October 26, 1863, he was appointed brigadier general of volunteers by the President. This position he resigned January 12th, 1864, to assume the duties of governor of the state.

In August, 1863, the Republican convention nominated General Miller for governor of the state on a very radical platform. His opponent was the Hon. H. T. Welles, a gentleman of high character and fine ability. The war absorbed public attention at the time to the exclusion of every other question, and on its issues General Miller was easily elected, receiving 19,628 votes, and Welles, 12,739. He entered upon the duties of the chief executive of the state January 11, 1864, following Henry A. Swift, an executive who left behind him an enviable record for capacity, patriotic devotion to duty, and unblemished integrity.

Governor Miller was in the executive chair during the closing years of the rebellion, and in many ways demonstrated his intense patriotism in caring for the soldiers yet in the field and on their return home. He was also diligent in calling the attention of the War De-

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partment to deserving officers, and secured for such many brevet promotions, and for others appointments in the regular army. While in office he delivered two messages, his inaugural address and one annual message.¹ They are plain and practical documents, presenting a comprehensive view of the condition and resources of the state. Special attention was given in urging measures for the relief of all soldiers who required assistance, either for themselves or their families. His paternal care and solicitude for these exhibited the tenderness of his heart. His administration of a single term of two years was mainly devoted to closing Minnesota's connection with the various interests growing out of the Civil War. The old veterans hold him in sweet remembrance, for to them he was like a kind, indulgent father, or a warm-hearted, affectionate brother.

After retiring from the executive office, January 8th, 1866, he was for a time without any public employment or special private business.² In June, 1871, he entered into the service of the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad Company, as general superintendent of its large land interests in southwestern Minnesota, and resided at Worthington. During this period he was, in 1873,

¹See Governors' Messages, 1857 to 1874, in the Historical Society Library.

²Governor Miller was not a candidate for re-nomination and received no second term. The reasons for this were of a sad character, and in no wise reflected upon him. His two sons had gone to the Pacific coast and were inveigled into some depredations upon the United States mail. For this, one was punished and both were morally wrecked. The mortified father never again asked for public preferment.

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elected to the legislature and served one session. He was also presidential elector at large in 1876, and, as messenger, bore the vote to Washington.

That among our prosaic governors we should find one who worshipped at the shrine of the Muses, may occasion some surprise. Governor Miller was, however, the guilty man. In 1864, Mrs. W. J. Arnold, of Wabasha, issued a small volume entitled "The Poets and Poetry of Minnesota." It was dedicated "To the Hon. Stephen Miller, Governor of Minnesota, the Soldier, the Patriot, the True Friend." The fair compiler of this unique volume claims to admit only poems of merit, and those the best of each author. She claims to have received from Governor Miller efficient advice from the commencement of her labors to their close. We find also that two others of our public men are generously embalmed in the same volume, the Hon. Ignatius Donnelly and Gen. J. H. Baker. This good lady has, with a warm and generous heart, rescued some of the poetic sins of sophomoric youth from merited oblivion. I know of but two copies of this rare volume now in existence, one in the Historical Society Library, and the other in the possession of the writer. The balance of the very limited edition was either condemned to the waste basket, or sleep in dusty rest in unknown libraries. The volume is valuable for its biographical sketches, rather than for its poetic fire. Governor Miller's youthful effusions are entitled: "Sow in Tears and Reap with Joy," "Earth's Angels," "Things I Want," "A Contrast," "On the

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Death of a Loved One," "For an Album," "Little Maggie," "Why Don't You Sing as Once You Sung?" and "The Sky." No kinder hearted woman than Mrs. Arnold ever labored to build a budding literature out of such material as she found. The filial bards of the state, as such, have gone to their merited forgetfulness; and we trust a general amnesty and pardon has been duly issued to those of us who, in wayward youth, presumed to strike the harp in the ears of the "Weary Nine."

Stephen Miller was not of the material out of which great statesmen are made. We cannot place him in the rank of such governors as Ramsey, Sibley, Davis, Pillsbury, or Hubbard. But with his good common sense, his sterling integrity, his ardent patriotism, his broad sympathies, Minnesota can well congratulate herself that he was governor at the time he filled the executive chair. Governor Miller was a rough and ready speaker, and his remarkable wit, his originality of style, and a somewhat brusque manner on the rostrum, made him a very attractive and popular speaker among the early settlers. He was more anecdotal than any other of our governors. He could make the lines very hard for an adversary. He thought quickly when on his legs, and could instantly perceive an opponent's weakness and could take advantage of it.

No man's private character stood higher in all respects, and he possessed the most amiable domestic affections. He had strong religious convictions, though not a member of any church. All his life he was a man of

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moderate means, and never was a money maker. It is sad to note that his last days were somewhat clouded by comparative poverty and personal indulgence; but his rugged honesty and manly principles were never questioned.

Misfortunes seemed to crowd upon him toward the close of his career. The death of his children and of his beloved wife, after years of harrowing illness, comparative poverty for himself, all these things beset his later years. The general government bestowed a small pension on him toward the last, and with this little fund he was engaged in preparing a modest home in Worthington, a retreat for his declining years. Governor Miller was sick for quite a while before death came, but he was well and tenderly cared for during his last days. He died Thursday evening August 18, 1881, at 10:30 o'clock, aged sixty-five years, seven months, and eleven days. He was buried in the cemetery at Worthington the following Saturday, the ceremonies being conducted by the Masonic fraternity.

In 1859 he was married to Miss Margaret Funk, of Dauphin county, Pa. To this union there were born three sons and one daughter. Wesley F. was a lieutenant in the Seventh U. S. Infantry, and was killed in the battle of Gettysburg on the 2d of July, 1863. He was born April 1, 1841. His second son, Stephen C., was born May 22, 1842, and was also in the army as Commissary of Subsistence, with the rank of captain. He is now in the Treasury Department in Washington, D. C.

STEPHEN MILLER.

Robert D., born August 18, 1847, died in Pueblo, Colorado, March 17, 1886. The daughter, Elizabeth, died February 23, 1848.

A fine monument to the memory of Governor Miller occupies a prominent place in the well-kept cemetery at Worthington. The following are the inscriptions, as they appear on the monument:

On the west side, "Stephen Miller, born January 7th, 1816; died August 18th, 1881. Governor of Minnesota, 1864-1865."

On the south side, "Enlisted as a private in the First Minnesota Volunteers, April, 1861; appointed Lieutenant Colonel, April, 1861."

On the north side, "Appointed Colonel Seventh Minnesota Volunteers, August, 1862; promoted Brigadier General, 1863."

On the east side, "Erected by his sons, Stephen C. and Robert D. Miller."

The Worthington Advance noted a strange coincidence in connection with the death of the Governor:

"There were no dreadful coincidents connected with the death of Governor Miller. A beautiful one did occur, however, which is worthy of note. Just after the governor died, one of the little apple trees in his lot put out a bouquet of snow-white blossoms. Our attention having been called to the fact by several persons, we examined this beautiful phenomenon and found that on none of the other trees were there any signs of blossoms. These blossoms were plucked on Saturday and laid on

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the casket, Nature thus furnishing a fresh bouquet as though it were done especially and spontaneously for the occasion. This is a fit emblem, at least, of the Governor's advent into a higher life. No whiter-souled public man has lived during the stirring times of the past twenty years, and as he leaves behind the troublesome body with its common frailties, and emerges into the spirit-world, free and pure in spirit, we can think of no more fitting and expressive emblem than this cluster of snow-white blossoms bursting into bloom just as his spirit bursts into the eternal bloom of the other world."

The inaugural address of Governor Miller, January 13, 1864, was published as a pamphlet and as the second paper (11 pages) in the Executive Documents of the state of Minnesota for the year 1863 (St. Paul, 1864).

His annual message of the following year, delivered January 4, 1865, was published as a pamphlet of 30 pages, and as the first paper (pages 9-38) in the Executive Documents of the state of Minnesota for the year 1864 (St. Paul, 1865). The following is its first paragraph:

In this solemn and momentous crisis in the history of the great nation of which we form a part, it is peculiarly appropriate that we as representatives of a Christian people, assembled to deliberate and act upon grave and important questions affecting their welfare, should humbly acknowledge our dependence upon Almighty God, and invoke his blessing upon our labors. We have abundant cause for thankfulness in view of the success vouchsafed to the national arms during the past year in the struggle with the great rebellion—of the stern determination of the loyal States, so lately expressed through the ballot box, to maintain the integrity of the Republic—of our continued progress in all the elements of prosperity, not-

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withstanding the great drain upon our resources, and especially that our State has been almost entirely relieved from apprehensions of savage raids. The very fact that during the continuance of the prolonged and bloody strife with armed traitors, most of the great Powers of the World have neither sympathized with them nor desired their ultimate success, should induce the American people to cling more closely to the God of their fathers, who holds alike in his hand the destinies of nations, and of men.

Governor Miller's last message to the legislature, January 8, 1866, was published as a pamphlet and as the first paper (29 pages) in the Executive Documents for 1865 (St. Paul, 1866). The following extracts are selected from it:

* * * The great war of the rebellion has been happily and successfully closed, and the seceding States have been compelled to return to their allegiance. Human slavery has ceased to exist, and the national authority is restored over the whole broad expanse of the Republic. If the hand of the assassin has stricken to the earth our late lamented President, in the fullness of his fame, his mantle has fallen upon the shoulders of a worthy successor. Our country once more united, and freed from the embarrassments of the only institution which darkened its splendor and impeded its progress, reassumes its position in the front rank of the nations, as the bulwark of human liberty, and the hope of the oppressed in every land.

We have also cause for grateful acknowledgment in the condition of our own State during the past year. Pestilence has not been permitted to visit us—the granaries of our people are filled with the products of a bountiful harvest—many thousands of our citizen soldiers have returned in safety from an active participation in the bloody but successful conflict with traitors in arms against the national government, and resumed the peaceful vocations from which they were summoned. Our population has steadily and rapidly increased, and Minnesota, although clothed in the robes of mourning for so many of her sons who have fallen in a glorious cause, has reason to pride herself upon their gallant achievements in the field, which have given her a reputation second to that of no loyal State.

* * * * *

Nor has the precious sacrifice been made in vain. One year ago when clouds and darkness beset our pathway, relying upon the justice of God, I said, in my annual message to your predecessors, that "Our successes would surely culminate in the

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restoration of the authority of the Government over the seceding States, in blessings to ourselves and our posterity, and in the encouragement of the friends of constitutional liberty throughout the world." The prediction has been fully verified by subsequent events. Today the ensign of the Union floats over every foot of soil pertaining to our common country. Its folds protect the resting places of our heroic dead, and its presence proclaims "liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

It becomes the duty of the National authority to provide against a recurrence of the events which have filled the land with mourning, and shaken the very pillars of our Republican institutions.

When this shall have been accomplished, the country of which we form a part, will, by the blessings of heaven, be recognized as the leading power of the world, while Minnesota will assume a prominent position in the galaxy of States.

Commending the interests of our State to you, to my esteemed successor in office, and to the still surer protection of a kind and a merciful Providence, I relinquish, with profound gratitude to the people of Minnesota, the trust which two years ago they confided to my hands.

WILLIAM RAINEY MARSHALL

FIFTH GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

January 8, 1866, to January 9, 1870

TWO of our governors were born south of Mason and Dixon's Line, Willis Arnold Gorman in Kentucky, and William Rainey Marshall in Missouri. Migration from the East to the West has been uniform and extensive; but from the South to the North there has been but little. I am of the opinion that both of these prominent men brought with them something of the impulsive character of the South, which was modified and somewhat subdued by the different atmosphere in which they passed their active lives. Both had a natural taste for arms, and became good soldiers at the first opportunity.

William R. Marshall was born near Columbia, Missouri, October 17, 1825.

About 1830 young Marshall's parents removed to Quincy, Ill., where he passed his boyhood and received his education in the schools of that town. But it may be justly said that he was self-taught in all he knew of books.

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In 1841, with his brother Joseph, he went to the lead mines near Galena, Ill., where he worked for several years. During this period he learned practical surveying, which seems to have been the extent of his book education, though he was always a great reader.

Sometime in the year 1847, when twenty-two years of age, he removed to St. Croix Falls, Wisconsin, and made a land and timber claim near the falls on the Wisconsin side, which is now included in what is known as the Philip Jewell farm. While at St. Croix Falls he sold goods, dealt in lumber, was deputy receiver of the United States land office, and took a very active part in what were called "boundary meetings." He was elected to the legislature of Wisconsin for the St. Croix Valley in 1848; but his seat was successfully contested on the ground of non-residence, as he resided west of the western line of the new state of Wisconsin.

In the autumn of 1847 he made a visit to St. Anthony Falls, Minnesota, staked out a claim, and cut logs for a cabin, but, partially abandoning the claim, he returned to St. Croix Falls. However, in 1849, he returned to St. Anthony Falls and perfected his claim. That same year he was elected to the first Minnesota Territorial legislature. While living at St. Anthony, he engaged in a general hardware business with his brother Joseph. He also surveyed and platted the town of St. Anthony for Bottineau and Steele, and made some surveys of adjacent government lands.

WILLIAM RAINEY MARSHALL.

In 1851, he removed to St. Paul and became a pioneer merchant in the hardware business. The wholesale house of Nicols and Berkey, and later Nicols and Dean, became the successor of his pioneer store. During the same year he continued his survey of public lands. In 1855, in connection with other parties, he established a banking business, and did well till overwhelmed by the financial storm of 1857. He then went into dairy farming and stock raising, and brought into the state the first high-bred cattle.

In 1861 he purchased the St. Paul Daily Times and the Minnesotian, and merged them into the St. Paul Press, and this paper at once became the leading Republican journal of the state. Such discordant elements as existed in the Republican party previous to this consolidation at once disappeared. Mr. Joseph A. Wheelock, a brilliant young writer and at that time Commissioner of Statistics, was made editor of the new journal. The Press under its new management was friendly to Governor Ramsey for the United States senate. Its proprietors, Marshall and Wheelock, ever afterward remained steadfast friends of Ramsey.

In the fall of 1862, a legislature was elected which was to name a new United States senator. The contest was sharp, and a new man in the person of the Hon. Cyrus Aldrich, member of Congress from the First District, was named in opposition to Ramsey. To aid in the contest a new paper, called the Union, under the control of Mr. Frederick Driscoll, was established. The result of

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this fierce battle was the election of Governor Ramsey, and perhaps no parties rendered more efficient service than Marshall and Wheelock through the columns of the St. Paul Press. The Press had the state printing, said to be worth \$20,000 a year. The Union was financially wrecked by the election of Ramsey and the loss of the state printing. But the friends of the two papers solved the problem by inducing Driscoll to buy a half interest in the Press, and finally Mr. Wheelock bought Marshall's interest, and under their joint control that paper became powerful and prosperous. It never forgot, however, to use its influence for its old friend and founder, Marshall, in his future career.

In response to President Lincoln's second call for volunteers, the Seventh Regiment Minnesota Infantry was organized. Of this regiment, William Rainey Marshall was commissioned by his friend, Governor Ramsey, as lieutenant colonel, August 28, 1862. He at once began a military career which was conspicuous for courage, even to audacity, till he was mustered out of service, August 16, 1865.

His first military act was in joining a party of improvised soldiers under Colonel McPhail for the relief of Fort Ridgely. Here for the first time he met part of his regiment, and was immediately ordered to join General Sibley and march to the relief of Captain Grant at Birch Coolie. He had now gathered five companies of his regiment, which, in the confusion incident to the fierce Indian raid, had been widely scattered, and on

WILLIAM RAINEY MARSHALL.

September 22, 1862, he marched toward Wood Lake, in the battle at which place Colonel Marshall bore a conspicuous part.

During the winter following this important engagement, he was with several companies of his regiment guarding Indian prisoners at Madelia and Mankato. In the spring he, with his regiment, was ordered to Camp Pope to take part in the great expedition then organizing under General Sibley to operate against the hostile Sioux, supposed to be now gathered about Devil's Lake, in Dakota. Col. Stephen Miller, now colonel of the Seventh regiment, had been ordered back to St. Paul to the command of the sub-department of Minnesota, in the absence of General Sibley. This left Lt. Col. Marshall in full command of the Seventh regiment. June 16th, 1863, the army, under General Sibley, moved from Camp Pope and started on its long and tedious march in pursuit of the Sioux. On the Sheyenne river the column passed through a grasshopper district where all the grass was eaten away by these countless pests to an extent that threatened to defeat the purposes of the expedition. The heat also was intense, and the torrid temperature sent some of the best to the ambulances. July 24 the Sioux were encountered at Big Mound. Here the writer witnessed Colonel Marshall make a superb charge on hundreds of Indians with his regiment, scattering them in every direction. We will not pursue the story of Colonel Marshall's history in the campaign against the Sioux. A more detailed account of that expedition has been given

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in the biography of Governor Sibley. We must observe, however, that Colonel Marshall was ever a brave and efficient officer, never sparing himself in the discharge of his duty.

October 7, 1863, the Seventh regiment was ordered South, with Lieutenant Colonel Marshall in command, Colonel Miller yet remaining in control at St. Paul. They were ordered to St. Louis, Mo., together with the Ninth regiment under command of Col. Alexander Wilkin, and the Tenth under command of Col. J. H. Baker. These regiments subsequently shared fortune together in the future of the Civil War. Shortly after going South, November 6, 1863, Lt. Col. Marshall was promoted to the colonelcy of the regiment, Colonel Miller having been promoted to a brigadier-generalship. The regiment remained in St. Louis, on provost duty, until the 20th of April, 1864, when it was ordered South. Arriving at Memphis, Tenn., it was assigned to the right wing of the Sixteenth army corps, under Gen. A. J. Smith, and in the Third brigade, commanded by Gen. J. A. Mower. On the 13th of July they were engaged in the battle of Tupelo, afterward on the Oxford raid and in the pursuit of General Price in Missouri. Returning from this, they were sent hurriedly to Nashville, Tenn., where they arrived in time to hear the sound of the guns at the bloody battle of Franklin. On the 15th of December, the regiment, Colonel Marshall commanding, took a conspicuous part in the great battle of Nashville. In this battle, as usual, Colonel Marshall rode his

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little chestnut horse, Don, which made him a conspicuous mark on every field. The colonel that day carried his gauntlets doubled up on his breast, and they received a minie-ball which otherwise would have cost him his life. The Sixteenth army corps was now ordered to New Orleans, and thence to Spanish Fort on Mobile bay.

At this time Colonel Marshall, by virtue of the age of his commission as colonel, was in command of the brigade. On the 25th of March, as they were approaching the Fort, Colonel Marshall, while riding at the head of his brigade, was wounded, the ball passing through the side of his neck and out near the spine. He kept on duty in spite of the orders of his surgeon. The wound was severe, though not dangerous. The rebels evacuated Spanish Fort on the night of April 8, and this virtually closed the war for Colonel Marshall and his regiment.

On the 20th of July, the Seventh regiment, Colonel Marshall once again in command, started for home, and arrived at St. Paul August 8. Here Colonel Marshall's commission as a brevet brigadier general, dated March 13, 1865, reached him. On arriving at Fort Snelling he issued a farewell order, "General Orders No. 10." He parted with his men, taking each man by the hand, the tears rolling down his cheeks. Thus, after three years of arduous service, he parted tenderly with his regiment and closed his military career. He was mustered out of service August 16, 1865. It had been a field of honor and glory for him, and I hesitate not

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to say the noblest and brightest period of his eventful life.

Returning to the duties of private life, it was not long till he began an active political career. He had always been an earnest Republican, and in 1855 had presided over the convention which organized the Republican party in Minnesota. In heart and action he was thoroughly identified with that party. He still had behind him the influence of the St. Paul Press and the Ramsey wing of the party. Stephen Miller's gubernatorial term was about to close. The Republican convention was called to meet in Ingersol Hall, September 6, 1865. The candidates were Charles D. Gilfillan of St. Paul, a very worthy and able man; Gen. John T. Averill of Lake City, a gentleman of the highest personal character and a soldier with a good record; and Gen. William R. Marshall, whose good record, up to this date, we have spread before the reader. At the start, Averill was well in the lead and Marshall second. Singularly Marshall began to lose badly, and his cause was considered hopeless. Suddenly, however, one of those little political cyclones which often occur in conventions took place, and the twenty-second ballot brought Marshall unexpectedly the nomination.

His opponent was the Hon. Henry M. Rice, a Democrat of distinction and ability, and formerly a United States senator. A joint debate was cunningly devised between them. Neither were public speakers, and the display of oratory was not brilliant, and after

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complimenting each other as good and noble old settlers they hastily dropped the joint debate.¹ Marshall was elected, receiving 17,318 votes, while Rice had 13,842, and Marshall became governor January 8, 1866.

An examination of his messages exhibits a careful consideration of the economical condition of the state's affairs and its public institutions. In his inaugural address he felicitates the people of Minnesota upon the discovery of gold at Vermilion lake, which, however, proved to be unfounded. In the year 1866, Major T. M. Newson, of St. Paul, a noted character in his day, organized a company and was its president, which prospected for gold at Vermilion lake. It caused great excitement and aroused great hopes at the time, but proved a sad failure. The gold was not there; it was iron, which in time became a gold mine of fabulous wealth.

During Marshall's term of office the regimental flags of the several regiments engaged in the Civil War were gathered and turned over to the state, and were deposited in a suitable case in the rotunda hall of the old capitol. They have since been transferred to the new capitol and placed in metallic cases where they will remain, perhaps for centuries, as mute but eloquent witnesses of the heroism of the men who bore them.

It was during his first term of office that the grant of five hundred thousand acres of land for "Internal Im-

¹H. P. Hall's Observations, page 67.

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provements' was secured from the general government by the suggestion of the Hon. E. F. Drake.

It was largely to his efforts, while governor, that the word "white" was stricken from the constitution of Minnesota.

In 1869 he vetoed the bill for the removal of the state capital to Kandiyohi county, where the lands granted by Congress for a state capital were located.

He urged the payment of whatever "might be justly due" on the old state railroad bonds, a serious question which haunted every governor till their final adjustment under Pillsbury.

In 1867 Marshall was a candidate for re-election, his Democratic opponent being Charles E. Flandrau, who was then living in Minneapolis. Marshall's majority was greater than in the previous election, the vote for Marshall being 34,874, and for Flandrau, 29,502.

During the two terms he was governor of the state there were no great or exciting questions of state policy, except that of the adjustment of the old state railroad bonds. It was an era of peace in which the state grew, its population doubled, and its wealth also doubled, while its railroad mileage quadrupled. He dealt only with present and practical questions, and wholly ignored remote and speculative matters. He fully believed that the less legislation we had, the better it would be for the people.

January 7, 1870, he retired from the executive office, to be followed by the Hon. Horace Austin.

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On the conclusion of his term of office, Marshall again engaged in banking, and became vice president of the Marine National Bank, and president of the Minnesota Savings Bank. In 1874 he was appointed a member of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, and in November, 1875, there being a change in the law, he was elected railroad commissioner, the old commission being abolished, and he was re-elected in 1877. It does not appear from any record that he was very active in that capacity, as the writer, who succeeded him, never was able to secure any books or records covering the transactions of the office during his term. He held the office from January 6, 1876, to January 10, 1882.

Subsequently he was engaged in several business enterprises, in which, however, he was not very successful. Arriving in Minnesota two years before the organization of the territory, he lived contemporaneously with all its development and progress, in which he bore an honorable and often an important part. In fact, no governor of the state had a more eventful career. His business enterprises were exceedingly numerous. With robust health and restless energy, and having no regular profession, he was immersed in almost every avocation and pursuit incident to a growing young territory and state. It was always regretted by his friends that his push and energy did not receive some adequate reward. But amid it all, his integrity and personal honor ever remained unsullied.

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His military career is that period of his life which was the most conspicuous, and which brought him just fame and crowned him with other rewards in the important positions he subsequently held. He was of that make and material of which good soldiers are made, and had he been a West Point graduate at the time of the war, he would surely have achieved great renown.

He was always actively interested in the Minnesota Historical Society as a promoter and contributor, and in 1868 was its president. In 1893 he was elected its secretary, but ill health made it necessary for him to resign in 1894, when he went to Pasadena, California, with the hope of recovery. His friends, however, continued him as the nominal secretary until March, 1895.

Governor Marshall was a member of the Minnesota Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, both of his grandfathers, Lieutenant David Marshall and Private Daniel Shaw, having been Revolutionary soldiers in the Pennsylvania line.

No one can speak of him more understandingly than his pastor, the Rev. Edward C. Mitchell, who pays him this beautiful tribute:

“William R. Marshall was a man whom it was easy to love. He was large-hearted, broad-minded and intellectual, generous, sympathetic, genial and considerate, and unusually versatile in his activities. At the time of his death, the press of our state expressed its

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high estimate of his character, his ability, and his usefulness, as a brave soldier, an able statesman, and a public-spirited citizen. And it is for me, as his pastor for the last twenty-three years of his life, to speak of him as a man; of his loving faith in the Word of God; his steadfast trust in Divine Providence; the purity and beauty of his social life; his unswerving loyalty to every good cause; his tender sympathy with all who suffered; his uncompromising opposition to all forms of meanness; his chivalrous championing of all who were oppressed; his dominant cheerfulness; his freedom from vindictiveness; his generous confidence in the good intentions of others; his patient bearing under severe trials and sufferings. He was an active member of the New Jerusalem (or Swedenborgian) Church, and one of those who united in forming the Society of that Church, in St. Paul, in 1873. He was a good man to live with, and he endeared himself to all who came in close contact with him. * * * He lacked the cautious calculation, the habitual attention to petty details, and the cool foresight which always allows for unforeseen contingencies.

“Commercially speaking he left little behind him, of this world’s goods; but, speaking from a spiritual standpoint, there are few men who carry more with them to the world beyond.”

Governor Marshall died at Pasadena, California, January 8, 1896. His remains were brought to St. Paul and buried in Oakland Cemetery.

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On March 22, 1854, William R. Marshall was married to Miss Abby Langford, one of the most estimable of women, of Utica, New York. She was a sister of the Hon. Nathaniel P. Langford, the president of the Historical Society, of the late Mrs. William A. Spencer, and of the late Mrs. James W. Taylor, of St. Paul. Mrs. Marshall died December 23, 1893. To Governor and Mrs. Marshall there was born but one child, George Langford Marshall, who died April 21, 1892, leaving a widow and a daughter, Alice. These were with the Governor when he died in California.

The inaugural address of Governor Marshall, January 8, 1866, was published in the Executive Documents of the state of Minnesota for the year 1865, pages 31-38 (St. Paul, 1866). It is in part as follows:

The munificent endowment of our schools—already nearly a million dollars in funds, and millions more to be realized from the lands—needs for its application the most perfect system, the best talent and the largest experience that can be commanded. * * *

* * * * *

State charitable institutions demand immediate attention. It is due to the State that an enlarged philanthropy should characterize its efforts for its helpless ones. These children of sorrow, the blind, the dumb, the insane, have a claim upon us that we cannot disregard. If speedy action for their relief is not taken it will be a reproach to our Christian civilization. Happily the work is no experiment. Enlightened philanthropy has developed these works of mercy into complete systems, and the only question is, have we the will and ability to do our whole duty. No questions of expediency should fetter us in so plain obligations. Both in respect to these and educational institutions, parsimony is the worst extravagance. No State was ever impoverished by liberality to these great interests.

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Generally, I commend care and thorough deliberation on every subject before you. Your wisdom will best be shown in enacting only ten laws unmistakably necessary and thoroughly matured, rather than hundreds of acts, some of doubtful necessity, and few receiving that careful consideration that public laws demand.

An important reform can be effected in this regard. Let it be our record that a small amount of work was well done, rather than a large amount hurriedly and poorly done.

* * * * *

In conclusion, I can only assure you that I shall welcome the enactment, and faithfully aid in the execution of all measures which shall tend to promote the material development of the State, and the moral advancement of the people; which shall promote wealth, yet check its undue influence through the power of associated capital; which shall secure the interests of labor—free, intelligent labor, the very basis of our social and political system; which shall enlarge and diffuse the blessings of popular education—the main pillar of Free Government; which shall provide for those benevolent institutions which are the crown of modern civilization; which shall fulfill the obligations of the State to her gallant soldiery, in whose hands the sign and symbol of our nation's sovereignty—our Starry Flag—was borne aloft amid the smoke and carnage of a hundred battles; finally, which shall advance the standard of public morals and life in this home of our adoption—this scene of our activities and hopes—our own commonwealth of Minnesota, and that shall add to the greatness and grandeur of that ONE NATION that makes each man of us proud of the name of an American citizen.

Marshall's annual message of January 10, 1867, published as a pamphlet and also as the first paper, 26 pages, in the Executive Documents of the State of Minnesota for the year 1866 (St. Paul, 1867), contains the following estimate of the population of the state:

The result of the state census of June 1, 1865, together with the returns of the school population on the 30th of September of the same year, afford a basis for a close estimate of the population of the state on the 1st of June last. On this basis, after allowing for a few palpable omissions in the last school reports, the population of the state on the 1st of June last was 310,000. The immigration into the state subsequent to that date far exceeds that of any corresponding pe-

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riod, since the territorial or state organization. The evidences of this fact from all quarters are uniform and conclusive. The total immigration of 1866 is variously estimated at from 40,000 to 75,000. I deem 30,000 as a moderate estimate of the total increase since the last named date, which will make the present total population of the state 340,000.

January 10, 1868, Governor Marshall delivered his annual message to the tenth legislature of this state, which was published as a pamphlet and as the first paper, 30 pages, of the Executive Documents for 1867 (St. Paul, 1868). A passage entitled "Impartial Suffrage" is quoted below.

The amendment to the constitution striking out the word "white" as a qualification of electors submitted at the last election, failed of adoption by minority of 1,315 votes in a total vote on the question of over 56,000. Two years ago when the same question was submitted it failed, lacking 2,327 in a total vote of 26,000, showing a very considerable advance of sentiment in favor of equal political rights for all men.

This question involves a principle vital in free government. It will triumph. I recommend that you again submit the question to the people.

"For freedom's battle once begun

* * * * *

Though baffled oft, is ever won."

It is a proud record of any party or any people that they espouse the cause of the oppressed and despoiled—that they respect the rights of the weakest and humblest. It will be a proud day for Minnesota when she shall, by popular vote, remove from her constitution the disfranchisement of a class—having its origin in the prejudice of caste growing out of the enslavement of a race—from whom she demands and has received the honorable service of the soldier, and whom she taxes without representation.

The annual message of Marshall to the eleventh legislature, January 7, 1869, was published in the Executive Documents for 1868 (St. Paul, 1869) as the first paper, 22 pages, and also separately as a pamphlet.

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It contains the following passage in regard to the state constitutional amendment which had recently passed, giving the ballot to colored men.

The progress of communities in the elements of permanent well-being is most truly recorded, not in the increase of its wealth, not in the development of its material interests, but in the advance towards the realization of that Divine rule of justice and brotherhood, which is the golden law of liberty.

More, then, than on your abounding wealth, I feel disposed to congratulate you on the final triumph, at the last election, of the amendment to the State Constitution, wiping out forever from our organic law the unrepugnant principle that this is a government for only part of the people, and establishing equal manhood suffrage as the fundamental law of the commonwealth. The free young State of Minnesota—now altogether free—proclaims from all her statutes that justice and liberty are the sure inheritance of all who, from the oppressions of the Old World or the New, seek an asylum within her borders.

Under date of January, 1869, Governor Marshall issued a special message to the Legislature, relating to the state railroad bonds of the "Five Million Loan," and transmitting copies of letters and memorials received from holders of the bonds. In this message, published, with the accompanying papers, in a pamphlet of thirteen pages, the governor said:

I have heretofore indicated to the Legislature that it seemed to me expedient that the five hundred thousand acres of internal improvement lands should be devoted to the payment of these bonds. Time serves to strengthen this conviction. * * *

In my judgment, the duty of the State to enter upon an adjustment of this suspended debt, begins the moment the State has the convenient means and ability to do so.

We have the example of the State of Michigan before us, in which a suspended debt twice greater than ours, and essentially of a similar character, was equitably and satisfactorily adjusted.

We have the example of the State of Illinois, which, in the attempt to build railroads and canals by the use of her State credit, broke down with not a mile of railroad completed,

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and with a debt of fifteen million dollars—six times greater than the nominal debt of Minnesota—and for years the State of Illinois did not pay a dollar of interest; yet when prosperity returned to her she promptly met the holders of her bonds and made satisfactory adjustment of the last dollar of her obligations. * * *

Marshall's last annual message to the Legislature, January 7, 1870, was published in pamphlet form and as the first paper, 30 pages, in the Executive Documents of Minnesota for 1869 (St. Paul, 1870). Characteristic paragraphs near the end of this address are as follows:

Looking back over the period during which I have been connected with the State government—humbled by the feeling that I have been able to do so little for the State—I am yet proud of what the people and the spontaneous agencies of public advancement have achieved. During that period the population of the State has almost doubled. Its wealth has quite doubled. Its railroads have quadrupled. Its educational funds and facilities have increased manifold. Its noble public charities—the highest marks of our civilization—have, most of them, been founded, and all of them advanced, to high positions of usefulness. The resources of the State, by the half million acres of internal improvement lands and other liberal grants for important railroads have been greatly augmented. I am profoundly grateful for the providence that has connected me with the government during so interesting and prosperous a period, and I yet look forward to gather results in the future, under wiser and abler administrations.

* * * * *

I am profoundly impressed with the belief that evil lies in the direction of too much legislation and governing rather than too little. The fewer, simpler and more stable the laws, the better. The less interference the better, with the ever present natural laws that govern individuals and society with unerring rule of right.

I am taught ever renewed thankfulness for our beneficent political institutions, that our government, State and National, gives such large liberty and such large opportunity to each and all its citizens. This is the source of our marvelous prosperity, of our wonderful progress in the arts of peace, and of our might in war.

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And now, after seven full years of public service, military and civil, deeply grateful to my fellow citizens for the unmerited honors they have conferred upon me, I gladly resign to the eminent citizen, who has been called from another department of honorable public service, the trust which was committed to my hands. I exchange it willingly for the more congenial pursuits of private life. There, in the ranks of useful laborers, I hope henceforth to contribute my personal share to the well-being of our Commonwealth, my well beloved State.

The two following papers by Governor (and General) Marshall have been published by the Minnesota Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, in their series of volumes entitled "Glimpses of the Nation's Struggle."

Reminiscences of General U. S. Grant (First Series, 1887, pages 89-106).

Some Letters by General W. T. Sherman, U. S. A., chiefly relating to Shiloh, read November 8, 1892 (Fourth Series, 1898, pages 605-614).

An Obituary Sketch of Senator Henry M. Rice, read by Governor Marshall at a meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, February 12, 1894, is in this Society's Collections, Volume IX, 1901, pages 654-658.



HORACE AUSTIN.

H O R A C E A U S T I N

Sixth Governor of the State of Minnesota, was born in Canterbury, Conn., October 15, 1831, and died in Minneapolis, Minn., November 7, 1905. He was Judge of the Sixth Judicial District, 1865-69, and was Governor from January 9, 1870, to January 7, 1874, and subsequently held several subordinate offices.

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SIXTH GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

January 9, 1870, to January 7, 1873

THIS great and marvelous state—this infant Hercules—has usually been careful in selecting its governors. Their personality and characteristics have reflected the character and intelligence of our people, not perhaps as men of letters, not as orators, not as heroes laureled from the war, but as men substantially representative of the people who have chosen them. There are men of vital importance to the state, of whose service history takes but little heed. It is not the man of genius, nor the orator who is ablaze with wit, who does most and best for his country. But it is the man who, though unskilled in these brilliant arts, aids in keeping the state in the paths of justice and public righteousness, who brings comfort and happiness, contentment and prosperity to his fellows, who opens up the highways of commerce, who fosters schools and colleges, and in all proper ways brings to pass practical things for the state.

In all, we have had eighteen governors, territorial and state. I would not attempt the appraisalment of the intellectual character or quality of service of our gubernatorial roster. Every governor was in some peculiar

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degree the mirror of his times. His nomination and election were controlled by peculiar existing conditions. In all the roster of our chief executives there is little or nothing of which to be ashamed, and much of which we may justly be proud. Occasionally the public intelligence and the public conscience may appear to have slumbered, but uniformly public alertness and public scrutiny have secured the elevation of able men to the executive chair.

Horace Austin was born October 15, 1831, at Canterbury, Connecticut. He was the son of a substantial farmer, and the family was of stern New England stock. He was reared on the home farm. His education, after the public school, was finished at an academy in Litchfield, Maine. Subsequently he taught in Belgrade Academy, of which institution he was for a short time the principal. From there he went to Augusta, Maine, and studied law in the office of the Hon. Lot Morrill, for many years a United States senator.

Smitten with the Western fever, in 1856 he turned his ambitious footsteps to the West in search of home and fortune, and finally located at St. Peter, Minnesota. He was then twenty-five years of age. He at once began the practice of his profession as a lawyer.

In 1862, on the breaking out of the Indian war, he promptly enlisted as a private in the "St. Peter Frontier Guards." He was afterward made first lieutenant of the company. He was in the second battle of New Ulm. Immediately afterward the First Regiment of Mounted

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Rangers was organized by Colonel Samuel McPhail. For this regiment Horace Austin raised Company B, and was mustered as captain into the service of the United States for the Indian war, October 29, 1862. He was then thirty-one years of age. This regiment made a splendid record in defense of the homes of the frontier. At Camp Baker it was the fortune of the writer to see Captain Austin lead a gallant charge against the infuriated savages.

His next step was a judicial one. There was a general conviction that he was a sound lawyer, and, without much opposition, he was elected judge of the Sixth Judicial District in 1864. It was soon observed that he was an independent, upright, and fearless judge. This fact paved the way for another and greater preferment.

The advent of Judge Austin into politics was quiet and unostentatious. The Republican state convention of 1869 met September 9 at St. Paul. There seemed to be an opportunity for the nomination of a safe and prudent man. Judge Austin's reputation in his judicial district was of the best, and that district presented his name with perfect unanimity. The vote was quite a surprise and he was nominated on the first ballot, the vote standing Austin 147, Donnelly 64, and McKusick 17. His Democratic opponent was George L. Otis, a lawyer of St. Paul, a gentleman of high standing and marked ability. The campaign was rather a lifeless affair. The Republicans came near losing the election. Austin received 27,348 votes; Otis 25,401; and Daniel Cobb, the Prohibi-

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tion candidate, 1,764. Austin's plurality over Otis was but 1,947. He was elected by the smallest majority the Republicans had ever received in the state.

A study of his messages gives a very favorable idea of the man, of the condition of the state, and of the important measures he earnestly advocated. The firmness and decisive character which he developed commended him more to the people than it did to the politicians. He advocated a complete revision of the criminal code; he opposed special legislation; he urged that the state and federal elections should occur on the same day; and when a subservient legislature apportioned the internal improvement lands among certain railroad corporations, he promptly vetoed the proposition, and secured the adoption of a constitutional amendment prohibiting the legislature from squandering these lands without consent of the voters.

Subsequently, and after the adoption of this constitutional amendment, during his second term, an act was passed authorizing the division of the proceeds of the sale of these internal improvement lands for the special purpose of paying the "Minnesota Railroad Bonds." This proposition was ratified by the people at the next ensuing election by a vote of 18,257 yeas, to 12,489 nays.

He suggested the wisdom of a convention to revise the constitution, the old one having served its day and usefulness. But the proposition failed then, and subsequently in 1896.

HORACE AUSTIN.

Perhaps the most important act of his administration was his veto of the proposition to divide among the various railroads of the state what were known as the "Internal Improvement Lands." A strong combination of railroad interests secured the passage of an act for that purpose. The pressure on Governor Austin to sign the bill was intense. But his firmness was equal to the occasion and the veto came. After full consideration of his act, the wisdom of the veto was seen and cordially approved by the general public. The result as to these lands was as above stated.

After serving as governor for two years with honor and fidelity, he was renominated in 1871 without opposition. The result of the election was a triumphant vindication of his conduct as chief executive. The Democratic candidate was Winthrop Young. A Prohibition candidate, Samuel Mayall, was also in the field. The vote was as follows: For Austin, 46,950; for Young, 30,376; and for Mayall, 846.

On the 13th of July, 1870, Daniel S. Norton, member of the United States Senate, having died, Governor Austin appointed Hon. William Windom, then a member of Congress from the First District, to fill the vacancy till the meeting of the legislature.

When the legislature convened, Ozora Pierson Stearns was elected to fill the yet unexpired term of the late Senator Norton. At the same time, William Windom was elected senator for the full term beginning

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March 4, 1871. Senator Stearns occupied the position for less than two months.

During the administration of Governor Austin a very extraordinary event occurred, the only one of its kind in the history of the state. It was in the winter of 1873 that the great state treasury defalcation was discovered. William Seeger was state treasurer. Governor Austin's message gave a very satisfactory statement of the condition of the state treasury. It showed a balance in the treasury of \$243,300.

As the people had voted in the preceding fall to issue a quarter of a million of bonds to construct necessary buildings for the state institutions, the question arose, where is this \$243,300 surplus, and why is it not made applicable to the situation? In the Senate W. G. Ward, of Waseca county, offered a resolution to ascertain whether the surplus funds reported in the governor's message were actually in the vaults of the treasury, or loaned to banks or individuals. The resolution was passed, and Senators Ward, R. B. Langdon, and L. F. Hubbard, were so appointed. As the investigation proceeded, it began to be clear that this money was not in the state treasury, or at least that \$180,000 was missing. Mr. Seeger seemed inclined not to give information as to its actual whereabouts, but insisted that the money could and would be faithfully accounted for, and the state was fully protected by his bondsmen. He also insisted that not one cent of the moneys of the state had ever been perverted to his own use.

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The result was that a resolution was offered in the House, asking William Seeger to resign his office as state treasurer. Being advised by his attorneys, he declined to do so. It appeared that the missing money had been used to cover the actual deficit of Seeger's predecessor, Emil Munch; that when he took the treasurership, Seeger accepted Emil Munch's note for \$112,000 as cash. This, and an additional sum, Seeger was carrying for Munch, in the hope that the latter would retrieve certain personal losses and restore the missing funds. The investigation exposed the whole situation.

A resolution was immediately passed, ordering Seeger's impeachment. During the progress of the impeachment proceedings, Seeger, by the advice of his attorneys, resigned. He sent his resignation to Governor Austin, and it was accepted by him. The governor was criticised considerably for so doing.

There was much sympathy for Seeger, as it became evident that he was the tool of other parties. Seeger's bondsmen were very responsible men. They proved to have a high sense of honor, and the state recovered promptly every dollar, principal and interest. The bondsmen of the state treasurer were Horace Thompson and Maurice Auerbach, of St. Paul, Charles Scheffer, of Stillwater, Emil Munch, who was the son-in-law of Seeger, and Adolph Munch, brother of the former state treasurer. Mr. Maurice Auerbach, the only one of the unfortunate bondsmen now living, states that this endorsement cost him personally \$100,000.

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Mr. Seeger was regularly impeached and removed from office, in spite of his resignation. Edwin W. Dyke was appointed treasurer by Governor Austin to fill the remainder of Seeger's term. Soon afterward, the legislature hedged the state treasury about with such ample provisions of law that such an event could not happen again.

There was no attempt made to criminally prosecute any one. While the Republicans felt that the party had received a strain, yet the Democrats did not avail themselves of the opportunity to make a fuss about this flagrant crime.

In 1873, there began to be much activity in the political arena in reference to the selection of a United States Senator. Governor Ramsey was anxious for a re-election; Governor Austin was active for securing his own election to the Senate, but was not favorable to the re-election of Ramsey. Many opponents of Ramsey presented, as their candidate, William D. Washburn. The *St. Paul Dispatch* was especially bitter against Ramsey, and in stirring editorials advocated a revolt against what it termed the "Old fogies." The *Dispatch's* candidate for governor was Cushman K. Davis, who was then United States district attorney. When the state convention finally assembled, General L. F. Hubbard presented a letter from Governor Austin, declining to be a candidate. This left the contest substantially between Washburn and Davis. On the fourth and final ballot,

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Davis received 155, and Washburn 152. The young Republicans had forged to the front.

Austin, after retiring from the governor's chair, was appointed by President Grant Third Auditor of the United States treasury, a position which he held for four years. He served under three successive secretaries of the treasury, Bristow, Morrill, and Sherman. He was then appointed register of the United States land office in Fargo, Dakota, which position he held seven years.

During the Austin administration, the counties of Aitkin, Yellow Medicine, Lac qui Parle, Becker, Carlton, Clay, Cottonwood, Kanabec, Lyon, Nobles, Rock, Stevens, Swift, Cass, Murray and Wilkin, were organized.

In a compendium of the important laws passed during his administration, the following are worthy of note: A revision and codification of all laws relating to common and Normal schools; a reciprocal general insurance law; the establishment of a state board of health; a division of the state into three congressional districts; to regulate and restrict railroads; Canada thistles pronounced a common nuisance, and fines imposed for not preventing their growth; geological and natural history survey of the state under the supervision of the State University.

During this period occurred the presidential election of 1872, when Ulysses S. Grant was the Republican and Horace Greeley the Democratic nominee. The vote in Minnesota stood, for Grant 90,919; for Greeley, 35,211, and for Charles O'Connor, a third candidate, 162.

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Returning to Minnesota and resuming the practice of law, Austin was, in 1887, appointed by Governor A. R. McGill a railroad commissioner for the state, and served from January 12, 1887, to January, 1891. His associates in the office were Gen. George L. Becker and Hon. John L. Gibbs.

When Austin became governor, he took Andrew R. McGill with him from St. Peter as his private secretary. In due time, Governor Austin promoted McGill to be Insurance Commissioner. When, in turn, thirteen years later, McGill became governor, he appointed Austin on the Railroad and Warehouse Commission. Thus these mutual friends served each other.

After retiring from public life, in which he had spent about thirty years, Austin retained his residence in Minneapolis, but his family home was at Mound, Lake Minnetonka. In his last days he appeared to float about seemingly at sea, without any special purpose in life. But the uprightness of his character, his general intelligence and pertinent views on all public questions, made him a welcome guest among a large circle of friends. His private life was one of unsullied purity. His religious views were strict, but, in all, liberal. His was not a perfect life. In some measure it was incomplete, an admirable fragment, of which we can wish there had been more.

If you will study the roster of our governors with comparative care, you will find that Horace Austin stands well up in the front row, and he bequeaths to the

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state an honorable record as one of the best and firmest of its executives.

He made the trip to Alaska in company with his friend, F. B. Morrill, of Fargo, and greatly enjoyed it. He spent several winters in southern California, where he had a small ranch. He bought a team and roamed over the country, sometimes prospecting in the mountains for minerals. He had an assaying outfit, and amused himself in that way, the main intent being to live out of doors. It was the writer's privilege in those days to meet him often and enjoy his agreeable society in company with his lifelong friend, J. K. Moore, formerly editor of the *St. Peter Tribune*.

In November, 1905, he required a minor surgical operation, and for that purpose went to St. Barnabas hospital in Minneapolis. He was then in his seventy-fifth year, and had just celebrated his birthday with his family at Mound, October 15th. His condition for the operation was deemed excellent, but unexpectedly a change took place, and to the surprise of his physicians his death came suddenly on Tuesday, the seventh of November, 1905. Thus ended the days of a noble citizen, a sound jurist, a brave soldier, and a good governor.

At the time of his death, and for some time previous, he was engaged in writing and compiling his memoirs. We trust that these papers will be given by his family to the Minnesota Historical Society for preservation and future use. Singularly enough, Governor McGill, his devoted friend, died only one week before Gov.

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ernor Austin. There was something dramatic in the lives of these two governors, so devoted in friendship, so nearly allied in death.

On the day before the operation that resulted in his death, Governor Austin wrote the following letter to his lifelong personal friend, Prof. Judson Jones, of Cleveland, Minn.:

“Dear Jud.: Thirty-five years ago three fast friends came down the Minnesota valley together to take part in the affairs of state; they acted well their parts (at least the other two of the three), and they have been sincere friends ever since. But on yesterday we laid one of them away in sleep at Oakland, and now the little circle is broken, one tie is rent asunder.

“I cannot, as otherwise I would, now write you fully of the great sorrow and of the last hours of our dear old friend, Andrew McGill (though there is not much to be said of the event itself, his death, which does not appear in the public press sent you), for now I am in a hospital for a surgical operation. This is my last afternoon before it is to take place, and I have many notes to send out, many little affairs to attend to, and so cannot give much time to either. In the morning I go under the knife and for two or three weeks thereafter, at the best, I shall not be permitted to write, perhaps not even read.

“It is not regarded as a very critical operation, and I submit to it with courage and confidence; but in such

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cases no one knows in advance what the issue may be; so it becomes one to be prepared for the worst. And I have made a pretty good ready as far as my business matters are concerned. As to the rest, having acted on my best knowledge and judgment, I have no misgivings.

"I confidently expect to meet and greet you again as we have so often met and greeted each other in the past for now almost fifty years; but if in this we should be disappointed, I shall go in the hope to meet you and greet you in a land that is fairer than this (though this to both of us has been kind and beautiful), as well as to meet and greet in love and pleasure so many loved ones who have gone before and are already 'on that beautiful shore.' So, my dear old friend, if forever, still forever fare thee well.

"As in the goodness of God we have prospered, enjoyed many blessings during a long life, so in unlimited confidence that His wisdom and grace will prove ample for the wants of all His children, here and hereafter, and with courage for any fate, I am, as ever,

Your devoted and sincere friend,

"HORACE AUSTIN."

The remains of Governor Austin were cremated at his request, and the ashes are buried in Oakland Cemetery, St. Paul.

Governor Austin was married in March, 1859, to Miss Mary Lena Morrill, of Augusta, Maine. To this union were born six children, five daughters and one son,

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as follows: Mrs. Lenora Hamlin, of Chicago; Alice Austin, an artist of Boston; Ida W. Austin, who died March 22, 1888; Herbert W. Austin, of St. Paul, now with the Northern Pacific Railway Company; Mabel, married to Dr. Ernest Southard, professor in Harvard Medical College, Boston; and Helen Horace Austin, teacher in the Central High School, St. Paul. They are a family of high intellectuality, great and varied talents, and marked individuality and force of character. The world will certainly be the better for the earnest and progressive spirit of their lives.

The Governor had one brother, George Austin, of Everett, Washington, and also a half brother, C. D. Austin, of Minneapolis, who are both now living.

Governor Austin's inaugural address to the Legislature, January 7, 1870, was published as a pamphlet of 25 pages, and also as the second paper in the Executive Documents for the year 1869 (St. Paul, 1870). The closing part of this address contains the following tribute to the memory of Austin's fellow townsman, Governor Swift:

In the struggle for preserving the unity of the republic, Minnesota bore her full share. Her gallant troops turned the tide of battle on many a hard fought field. Well may we congratulate ourselves, therefore, upon the success of the labors and sacrifices in which we had a brilliant, if not a commanding part. Here let me speak, without disparagement to others, of one of Minnesota's lamented citizens, her dead Governor, the noble, generous, self-sacrificing Henry A. Swift, in whose character was realized the traits of Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior:"

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"Who if he rise to station of command
Rises by open means; and there will stand
On honorable terms; or else retire,
And in himself possess his own desire."

His name deserves to be enrolled with those of Andrew, Curtin, Morton, and the loyal Governors who realized the genius and strength of the rebellion, and rendered such efficient aid in its suppression. They were the Lieutenants of the President, without whose hearty support failure would have been inevitable.

The annual message of Austin to the Legislature, January 5, 1871, was of unusual length, forming a pamphlet of 56 pages, published also as the first paper in the Executive Documents for 1870 (St. Paul, 1871). Nearly a third of this message is devoted to discussion of railway tariffs, on which the governor wrote in part as follows:

In my inaugural address I took occasion to examine the popular complaints against the management of the railroads within the State, as well as to present, to the best of my ability, the facts which the roads plead in justification of their course, and, after an examination of the legal bearings of the case, took the responsibility of suggesting remedial legislation; preliminary to which I advised that a commission be created to make full inquiry into the alleged abuses, and who should, in case the evils complained of, or other wrongs, were found to prevail, present some plan remedying the difficulties.

My reason for recommending the precautionary step of a commission, in advance of other legislation to which the services of the commissioners were designed to be preparatory, was not that I questioned the constitutional right of the Legislature to regulate freight and passenger tariffs, or doubted the necessity of so doing, but that you might have before you the means of an accurate knowledge of the merits of the controversy, gathered from an extended and thorough examination of the whole subject in all its relations.

* * * * *

However plausible the excuse, there can be no doubt that the system of freight tariffs and elevator charges practiced by some of our roads are unjustifiable, extortionate and oppressive to the last degree—totally indefensible on any well

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recognized principles of legitimate business, of commercial integrity, or of public decency.

Austin's next annual message, delivered January 4, 1872, at the beginning of his second term, was published as a pamphlet and as the first paper, 41 pages, in the Executive Documents for 1871 (St. Paul, 1872). The following were his recommendations for the state geological survey, which was authorized by the legislature in that session, and for the Minnesota Historical Society and the State University.

Considering the vast extent of our territory, its varied formations, soils, mineral deposits—undoubtedly existing in great wealth in some sections of the State—and the fact that we have never had a survey of the State worthy of the name, except at a few points of easy access, is it not desirable that you should make provision for a thorough geological survey by a capable, efficient, practical geologist? Such a survey would probably have saved the State the six sections of land consumed at Belle Plaine in the vain search for salt, the value of which alone would defray the entire expense of the undertaking, and might have saved to the citizens interested in that enterprise additional expense. A thorough geological survey would most likely reveal sources of wealth unknown, and not even supposed to exist, and would probably definitely locate and uncover others, the existence of which is only surmised. * * *

* * * * *

The Historical Society is steadily and successfully pursuing its labors and during the past year has made gratifying progress, amply demonstrating its usefulness and value. Its library now contains nearly 5,000 bound volumes, most of them rare and valuable, while its collection of a published nature concerning the state is remarkably complete and useful. The rooms provided for the society several years ago have already become too limited and should be enlarged as far as the needs of other departments will admit. I commend the society to your continued care and recommend liberal provisions for its future usefulness.

* * * * *

The annual report of the Board of Regents, which will be laid before you, shows favorable progress at the University.

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There have been in attendance, in all the departments, during the year past 321 students, of whom 92 were females. This increase in the number of students enhances the demand for more and better accommodations, and the board of regents therefore make an earnest appeal for an appropriation for the enlargement of the old building, which is but a wing of the original plan. There can be no doubt of the necessity of this, nor of the fact that the School must be embarrassed and greatly limited in its usefulness until more ample accommodations are provided. No part of the funds arising from the sale of lands can be applied for the erection of buildings, which leaves the institution entirely dependent upon the legislature for a supply of its wants in this direction.

The University, being the chief institution of learning in the State and standing at the head of our system of schools, should be made to reflect credit on the State and be enabled to take position with similar institutions of the country. It should receive such substantial aid as may be consistent with the means at your disposal and the demands of our charitable institutions.

January 9, 1873, Governor Austin delivered his third annual message to the legislature, which was published in 49 pages as a pamphlet and as the first paper of the Executive Documents for the year 1872 (St. Paul, 1873.) Concerning development of local manufactures, this message said:

After all shall have been done that can be done to cheapen the transportation of the bulky freights produced by an agricultural people, even though the expectation of the most sanguine should be realized, the profits upon such production will be small, the prosperity of the people limited and their lot a hard one, so long as fifteen hundred to five thousand miles lie between them and their markets. Minnesota is essentially an agricultural State, but nature has not been so ungenerous in the distribution of her bounties as to limit us to the culture of the earth alone; on the contrary, she has endowed us with those elements which need but to be utilized by the ingenuity of man, and inspired by the magic touch of capital to make us the New England of the great Northwest—to build up a thousand active business centres where the busy artisan and the tradesman shall require not only the surplus production of the farmer, but where the wealth of our forests and of our mines shall be demanded, and where they shall be coined into gold, or become a commodity of ready exchange with the consumer, without the intervention of a score of middle-men—whose pro-

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fits exceed those of the producer and consumer combined—or subject to the inexorable extortions of confederated transportation companies. To effect the desired result, I would suggest such a change in the constitution as will allow the Legislature to enact laws authorizing towns and cities to relieve from taxation capital which shall be invested in manufacturing, or perhaps authorize the loan or donation of a specific sum.

However, these privileges, if granted, should be well guarded, that the flood-gates be not opened to an injudicious and unlimited indebtedness. I would restrict an exemption from taxation to a limited number of years, say fifteen, and, if more direct aid were to be extended, would permit it to be done by virtue of not less than a two-thirds vote, and would limit the amount to be loaned or donated, whether paid in cash or bonds, to a certain per cent of the valuation of the property in the city or other municipal corporation granting the aid. * * *

The fourth and last annual message of Governor Austin, January 9, 1874, published in a pamphlet of 45 pages and in the Executive Documents for 1873 (St. Paul, 1874), concludes as follows:

If I have not been able to accomplish any great work of public improvement or material development, nor to enlarge the powers or the privileges of the masses, I have not stood in the way of the former nor retarded the progress of the latter. The growth of the State in wealth, in public and internal improvements, in agriculture, in population, in the means of general education, and in the general prosperity and happiness of the people, has been too great to be questioned.

To have been at the head of affairs, to have my name associated with the events of these four prosperous if not eventful years, I am profoundly thankful to the people of Minnesota. And now, after ten years of public service, judicial and executive, worn with care and realizing the necessity of making for a dependent family better provision than the opportunities of a public life permit, I willingly resign to another the honors and responsibilities of my situation, and the more willingly because they are to be transferred to a gentleman of eminent ability, who will guard the one and faithfully discharge the other.

I bespeak for him your cordial co-operation, and earnestly do I invoke Heaven's most abundant blessings upon the people of Minnesota; and that her untarnished name may shine forever in the galaxy of American States with the lustre of that star which symbolizes her glory, is my earnest prayer.

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In the Publications of the Minnesota Commandery of the Loyal Legion of the United States, "Glimpses of the Nation's Struggle" (Fourth Series, 1898, pages 124-143), is a paper by Governor Austin, "The Frontier of Southwestern Minnesota in 1857; the Ink-pa-doota Outbreak; the Campaign of 1863 against the Sioux," read December 12, 1893. This paper is partly autobiographic, and also contains interesting character notes of Governor Gorman, Joseph R. Brown, Joseph Rolette, and other members of the last territorial legislature.



CUSHMAN K. DAVIS

CUSHMAN KELLOGG DAVIS

Seventh Governor of the State of Minnesota, was born in Henderson, New York, June 16, 1838, and died in St. Paul, November 27, 1900. He served in the Civil War; practiced law in St. Paul; and was Governor of Minnesota from January 7, 1874, to January 7, 1876. From 1887 until his death he was a United States Senator. In 1898, at the conclusion of the war with Spain, he was a member of the Spanish American Peace Commission.

CUSHMAN KELLOGG DAVIS

SEVENTH GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

January 7, 1874, to January 7, 1876

POLITICS and literature do not often go hand in hand. We have had, however, in this state a rare exception. But seven years have passed since the death of Cushman Kellogg Davis. His recognition as statesman, classic orator, and man of letters, has gained in expression and cumulative interest with each passing year. The pervasive atmosphere of his memory is extending through all the ranks of culture. In another generation interest will center more and more about this man, so unlike our other governors.

Literary talent, culture, a wonderful power of expression, rich as cloth of gold, so potent in him, will reach with propulsive force to Minnesotans yet unborn. Amid his political entanglements, his legal work, dry as dust, and statesmanly employments, his irrepressible literary gifts would flash out like lances of sunlight between the clouds.

His accomplishments as a man of letters, and his wonderful skill in state-craft, are the two Corinthian columns on which rest his glory and his fame.

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No one can envy the great distinction which came to this remarkable man. He was too amiable and honorable to assail or decry any competitor in the race for supremacy. The rewards of a commendable ambition came to him without seeking to humble any rival. "His tongue dropped manna" for all, and wellnigh made him exempt from that vituperation which is too often the fate of our public men. In the earlier period of his professional career, there seemed to be a sportive tendency in his tastes; but quite suddenly he dropped all the haunts of diversion, and studiously gave himself to his library and his profession. Henceforth his life and career formed a notable part of the state he so devotedly loved and so greatly honored.

He was born at the village of Henderson, Jefferson county, New York, on the 16th day of June, 1838, in a small home built partly of logs, and mossy and venerable with age. He came of sturdy Puritan stock, and on his mother's side he was a descendant of Mary Allerton, who was the last survivor of the noble band that came over in the Mayflower. He was a descendant of Robert Cushman, the preacher of the Pilgrims, and he had great pride in his ancestry. His father, Horatio N. Davis, was quite prominent, had served in the Civil War, and retired from the army with the brevet rank of major. He held many municipal offices, and was, at one time, a member of the Wisconsin Senate. When an infant, his parents removed to the vicinity of Waukesha, Wis., where, for fifteen years, they resided on a farm. He

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was trained in the local schools, but was early transferred to the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, from which he was graduated in 1857. He studied law, and came to the bar in Waukesha as soon as he had reached his majority. With his intellectual gifts he speedily attained a good practice, and was recognized as a rising and ambitious young lawyer.

But the storm of civil war broke upon the country, and he entered the army as first lieutenant of Company B of the Twenty-eighth Wisconsin infantry. He served with marked courage and fidelity until the complete breaking down of his health from constant and insidious malaria and fever. For nearly two years he was with the Army of Tennessee in campaigns in Kentucky, Arkansas, and Mississippi. He returned to the paternal home, and with gradually returning health he was ambitious to seek a larger field of activity. Surveying the great Northwest, fortunately for both him and this state, he chose St. Paul as his future home.

He arrived in that city in 1865. Resuming at once the practice of the law, in partnership with ex-governor Willis A. Gorman, he became noted as one of the ablest and most prominent members of a bar eminently distinguished for its rare ability and high character.

In 1867 came his first political recognition, when he was elected to the legislature of that year. His ability was speedily recognized, and he took an active part in its deliberations. In 1868 he was appointed, by

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President Johnson, United States attorney for Minnesota, and served in that capacity till 1875.

In the meantime he was devoting unwearied attention to general literature. In response to the trend of public sentiment, then greatly agitated over alleged railway dominance and aggression, he prepared his celebrated lecture entitled "Modern Feudalism." He delivered this lecture at many places over the state, and it won for him a good deal of reputation. In fact, it was the means of directing public attention to him, and was probably the inciting cause of his being nominated for governor by the Republican party, July 16, 1873.

The contest in the convention was between Davis and W. D. Washburn, of Minneapolis, a most worthy and able antagonist. After an exciting struggle, Davis was declared nominated by one majority. Upon so slender a thread does human destiny turn. This result changed many personal and political fortunes in our state. His opponents were Asa Barton, Democrat, of Faribault, and Samuel Mayall, Prohibitionist, of St. Paul. Davis received, in the election, 40,741 votes; Barton, 35,245; and Mayall, 1,036. Davis was the youngest of all our governors, being only in the thirty-sixth year of his age when he entered upon the duties of his office.

January 9, 1875, he delivered his inaugural message to the legislature. The marked feature of that document was his vigorous arraignment of the railways of the state for extortionate rates, and suggesting remedies. Following these suggestions, a board of railway

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commissioners was established, and Davis subsequently appointed the first board.

His last annual message was delivered January 7, 1876. He had from time to time offered many valuable suggestions for the betterment of our laws, now incorporated in our statutes, though the source of their inspiration is forgotten. But the essential feature of his last message was his views upon the duty of the state as to the old state railroad bonds. The question of the moral and legal obligation of the state to adjust that indebtedness was never, before or since, so succinctly and cogently presented. There will be found the whole essence of the argument against the state, never improved by any subsequent discussion of that vexed question. He clearly and boldly set forth, though it was unpopular at the time, the law and that higher rule of action which requires that states, no less than men, shall do justice, no matter how onerous may be the performance. With this sound admonition, he closed his career as governor of Minnesota.

On the expiration of his term of office Governor Davis declined to be again a candidate. He alleged that he was a poor man, and his profession gave him an income greatly in excess of the governor's salary. But it was understood he was then nursing an ambition to go to the United States Senate, and in the second year of his term of office he threw his gauntlet into the senatorial arena.

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The senatorial election came on in 1875. There were four candidates, to wit: Senator Ramsey, for a third term; W. D. Washburn; ex-Governor Austin; and Davis. Ignatius Donnelly came in later on. The struggle was long and bitter, and developed much personal feeling. The final result was the defeat of Senator Ramsey and the election of Judge S. J. R. McMillan, of the Supreme Bench, a "dark horse" introduced to allay the feeling which had been engendered. Judge McMillan served two terms in the Senate.

During these long twelve years, Governor Davis bided his time with calmness and patience. He was recognized as a brilliant and coming man. While he devoted himself to his profession and to the wide field of letters, he was prominent in all political campaigns, and spoke with marked ability for his party, for he was always a loyal Republican. During this period he lectured on "Hamlet" and "Madame Roland," and also published his charming little book entitled "The Law in Shakespeare," which attracted much attention.

The political campaign of 1886 was approaching, and the Republican press of the state was almost a unit for Davis for the Senate. The legislature met on the fourth of January, 1887, and at the Republican caucus held to nominate a candidate for United States senator Cushman K. Davis received every vote but one. His destiny was now fixed, and he entered on the most brilliant political career that was ever the fortune of any son of Minnesota. It remains to add that he was given

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his second term by a re-election in 1893, and a third term by nearly a unanimous vote, in 1899, when death cut short his great and valuable life, November 27, 1900.

He entered the Senate March 4, 1887, in the forty-ninth year of his age. There were assembled in that Chamber such senators as Hoar, Lodge, Aldrich, Allison, Spooner, and Morgan; and its walls yet echoed with the voices of Webster, Clay, Benton, Calhoun, and Conkling. He came with respectful regard for the dignity and reputation of that high legislative body, which was equal to that any nation had yet established in the rank of statesmanship and forensic eloquence.

When this young man entered the chamber that august body was not aware that Cicero had arrived. Whatever his aspirations or hopes, his innate modesty covered them all. He sought his honors through honest toil by the midnight lamp. While his friends at home looked confidently forward to a career of honor and fame for their chosen son, the Senate itself, of its own knowledge, had no occasion to be on the tiptoe of expectation. Indeed, he worked himself upward by the strictest devotion to senatorial duty, as opportunity came.

To him, at first, was accorded the chairmanship of the committee on pensions, comparatively a humble position, the duties of which he discharged with unwearied diligence and unruffled patience. The Senate soon learned that this new man was gifted with great intellectual force, and was a sound legislator. It was not

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long till he was transferred to the committee on foreign relations, and here finally, as its chairman, he found a wide field for his great abilities and for the exercise of those qualities of statesmanship and diplomacy with which he was so well gifted and equipped. He was a profound student of the history of our diplomatic relations with foreign countries, and as a preparation for this, he was already a master of constitutional and international law. His wealth of preparation for the headship of that committee soon gave him a record that caused the Senate to rely upon his reports and accept his advice.

Following the War with Spain, he was nominated by President McKinley, in company with two of his senatorial colleagues and other distinguished persons, to negotiate a treaty of peace with that country. The position was one in which the highest skill and learning were necessary, and in that able body of American commissioners he was pre-eminently conspicuous for his learning, his tact, and his fearless advocacy of the right. That treaty gave to the people of the Spanish islands relief from the most intolerable despotism, and added the Philippines and Porto Rico to the American Republic. The Treaty of Paris was the first occasion on which the United States was called upon to test its strength and wisdom in settling grave questions which really involved the great countries of Europe. Of all that work, Senator Davis was admitted to be the greatest part. His speeches and reports on the Spanish War in the Senate, and it

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is said more especially those in executive session, were masterful expositions of all matters involved, and were the propelling force which controlled the Senate.

When President Harrison sought to acquire the Hawaiian Islands, that halfway station to Asia, Senator Davis was his devoted supporter. And later, when President McKinley was constrained for the broad purposes of public defense and welfare to secure their possession, it was Senator Davis, with abundant and cogent reasons, who chiefly devised the plan which resulted in their annexation.

We recall the value of his services while serving on the committee of the Pacific railroad, in working out the mode and manner of settlement between the government and the roads, so that the people lost nothing by their generosity in originally aiding the growth and development of vast regions of our country.

No soldier of the great Civil War should ever forget the debt of gratitude due him for his skill and persistency, while chairman of the committee on pensions, in framing and securing the Dependent Pension Act of 1890. A veteran himself, he remembered his old comrades. Through that act more than \$750,000,000 has gone to the needy and infirm veterans and their widows, in token of the gratitude of a loyal people.

During the Venezuelan contention, his ability and diplomatic skill enabled him to perform the most signal service as the head of the committee on foreign relations.

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Thus, in all national affairs, he was wise, prudent, considerate, and far-seeing, even to prophecy, exhibiting all the elements of exalted statesmanship; never impulsive, never erratic, but practical, and with broad views on all public and international questions. Many of his illustrious services in assisting and directing great policies and events, which profoundly influenced the entire history of the country, were unknown to the general public because presented and considered in the committee room and in executive sessions. As chairman of the committee on foreign relations, he had reached the field of the greatest opportunity for his abilities and service to his country. Here he won that supreme distinction which placed him in the advanced line of American statesmen.

Absorbed as he was in the consideration of questions of almost worldwide importance, he did not overlook matters pertinent to the fortunes of his own state and the great Northwest. He fully realized that the people of Minnesota and the Dakotas could never secure the just rewards of their productive fields unless they were enabled to reach the markets of the world by the cheapest and best possible route. Who that is well informed on matters of momentous public interest has not read that masterly exposition of traffic by waterways in which he directed the attention of the senate and the nation to the imperious necessity of the improvement of the canal and locks at the Sault Ste. Marie? He saw with the eye of a statesman that the swelling productions of the

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vast wheat belt, the granary of the world, must be moved to the sea on economic lines and arteries, or the golden wealth of the vast Northwest would largely be lost to the people. He educated congressional and public sentiment by one great oration to the necessity of this improvement, and it was accomplished. Every home in the Northwest will forever be more prosperous by reason of the far-sighted statesmanship of Senator Davis in securing the enlargement and betterment of the Sault Sainte Marie canal.

Among all our statesmen, he was the most vigorous and clear expounder of the reach and effect of the Monroe doctrine. The true relations of the United States to Europe and the world, and our guardianship of all American interests, were presented and interpreted by him in a manner commensurate with the magnitude of the subject.

These examples will serve to illustrate the scope and character of his senatorial work. But now we must study the man himself, the qualities of his intellect, heart, and character. Sometimes the writer doubts whether the people of his own state, loving him as they did, fully appreciated the strength and vigor of his mind, the abundance of his intellectual resources, and the Grecian culture which polished and enriched them all. He was the first really great man Minnesota had presented to the Republic. His modesty was as great as his genius and his talents, and he lived a simple and unostentatious life in the midst of his friends. He was at all times and

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under all circumstances a true gentleman. It is quite impossible to define precisely that term, but we always feel what it means when in the presence of a man who is endowed with that special grace and courtesy. No man was ever more tolerant to his foes, and he never answered another's argument with warmth or heat. Yet, while he respected the opinion of other men, to the things for which he stood he was as true as steel. He always remembered the dignity and honor of his senatorial office. No Roman senator ever bore himself with more dignity and decorum, for he was ever mindful that no civil tribunal on earth is clothed with more power and majesty than the Senate of this Republic. He always appreciated the honor of the great commission he bore from the people of his state, and never failed to perform for them a senator's full duty.

His powers of conversation, to which it was always a delight to listen, were extolled and greatly admired by those who had the pleasure of his intimacy. His great and various knowledge and wide reading were always available to the uses of society. His choicest relaxation was in the polished company of men of literary tastes.

His manners apparently were not so polished, yet in personal contact he was one of the most agreeable of men. His manners were democratic and thoroughly unconventional, and he was easily approached by the humblest citizen. Though clothed with an unaffected simplicity, his self-respect and innate dignity were unmistakable.

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His voice, unfortunately, was not of a quality which aided him as an orator, being *sotto voce*, with a tenor strain. He possessed a felicity of speech which was truly remarkable, and his language, in speaking or writing, was a model of excellence.

Society had no charms for him. His place of recreation and enjoyment was his library, where his books were his companions and his chosen friends. The wide range of his reading in history and general literature was simply extraordinary. He was the only one of our governors who could be correctly called a literary man. Sibley was the only other governor who had the inbred love of letters.

Although Davis dropped his Greek, he retained as firm a hold on his Latin as any practiced collegian. Ovid and Livy, Horace and Virgil, were his relaxations. What do you think of a man who packs his valise for a journey with a copy of Sallust and a volume of Pliny's letters, for idle recreation? He had taught himself the important modern languages, French, Italian, and German, and he was not an inapt scholar in Spanish. None of these acquirements were made for parade or show; it was a love of learning for its own sake.

There were special fields of literature in which he delighted to roam and pluck flowers for his own enjoyment. I believe every truly great man of learning and taste has studied and loved Shakespeare. The incomparable dramatic poet was one of his chief loves. His little book, entitled "The Law of Shakespeare," was a

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royal testimonial of his Shakespearian learning. To illustrate the Senator's polished and elegant style, I will quote a passage from his introduction to this extraordinary volume:

"There was everything in that romantic age to stir the imagination. There was a spirit of chivalry abroad which marched in quest of something more substantial than moldy relics and fulfilled vows sworn to something grander than the achievement of pious absurdities. Frobisher had sailed northward into the silence of the eternal seas of ice. El Dorado lifted against the western skies its shafts and domes of gold. The Armada had vanished like a portentous phantom, smitten by the valor of Englishmen, and chased far off into the Hebridean fogs by the waves of the exasperated sea which fought for its island nurseling. Hawkins, pirate and admiral, had thrown his fortune into the pit which threatened to swallow up his country, and had died under the displeasure of his stingy yet magnificent queen. Raleigh, having seen his dream of the New World die out, lay in the Tower writing his history, doubtless smoking the consoling weed while awaiting the end of so much bravery, so much rashness, and so many cares, in the summons of 'eloquent, just, and mighty Death.'

"Drake had spoiled the seas and cities thereof. Captain John Smith had told of great empires in the West and their swarthy emperors. Mary, Queen of Scots, that changeful enchantress, as we see her now—at one

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time the French lily, all sweet, pure, and fragrant, and again the Scottish thistle, spinous and cruel to all who touched her—had woven the cords of love into the chains of empire, and had pressed the cup of her sorceries to the lips of many men, until her own glorious head bowed to ‘the long divorce of steel.’”

Thomas Babington Macaulay never wrote more superb lines than these. The shade of Shakespeare itself could bow to their stately rhythm.

His study of international law was held by his senatorial associates to be thorough and masterly, and made him a recognized leader and guide on all complicated international questions. He was also profoundly versed in diplomatic precedents and history. His eminence in the legal profession was universally acknowledged by the bar, and it is no disparagement to many distinguished legal cotemporaries to say that he was the leading lawyer of the Northwest. As a lawyer he was not a specialist in any sense, and his versatility was so great that there was no branch of the profession in which he was not at home. It was the judgment of Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, himself one of the ablest of attorneys, that his arguments addressed to the courts upon questions of law, and to juries upon questions of fact, could not be excelled by any one for strength, learning, and eloquence.

With him reading was a passion. He invaded every department of literature. He could say with Gibbon,

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"My early and invincible love of reading I would not exchange for the treasures of India." As his memory was remarkably retentive, he became encyclopedic in universal knowledge. Thus he was enabled to enrich and adorn his public addresses, his senatorial speeches, and even his private conversation, and that without effort or ostentation.

In his earlier years, as is often the case with aspiring minds, he was undecided in his religious views, as to what was true in the Bible and the Christian religion. But, with advancing years, profound study and more serious thought brought him to a safe conclusion. He was not devoted to any exclusive creed, but he realized that the spiritual life was the flower and purpose of creation. To use his own distinct utterance to his pastor,¹ not long before his final illness, he said:

"It is a great deal better to have these things discussed by the friends of the church rather than by her enemies, but it is not new—Voltaire had much to say on the subject. The heart of the question is not in any debate about the history of the books of the Bible. I am very familiar with the Bible. Job is the noblest poem ever written, and there is much of the loftiest eloquence in the Prophets. Nor is it in the literature of the Bible that the problem of faith rests. I know human history, and I know that in the first century something happened that destroyed the old world and

¹Rev. Dr. Samuel G. Smith.

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gave birth to the new. The resurrection of Jesus would account for that change, and I do not know of any other adequate solution that has ever been proposed."

In this noble conviction Senator Davis departed to his immortal rest, believing that he who had Christ had all.

Among the many striking incidents of his eventful career, we recall with pride his prompt action and ringing words, July 1, 1894, when that ill-timed resolution was introduced into the United States Senate to permit strikers to stop all railway traffic, provided they did not interfere with the United States mails. A committee from Duluth, assuming to speak for labor, wired Senator Davis, requesting him to support the resolution. The message came in the middle of the night, and springing from his couch, without dressing, he wrote the famous reply which was published in every newspaper in the land, and which did more to allay the fierce passions then aflame, and to set all men thinking, than any other cause in that dark hour of national depression. The message was instinct with the courage of a patriot, and exhibited the farsightedness of a great statesman. Here is the message:

"I have received your telegram. I will not support the resolution. It is against your real welfare. It is also a blow at the security, peace, and rights of millions who never harmed you or your associates. My duty to the Constitution and the laws forbids me to sustain a

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resolution to legalize lawlessness. The same duty rests upon you and your associates. The power to regulate commerce among the several states is vested by the Constitution in Congress. Your associates have usurped that power at Hammond and other places, and have destroyed commerce between the states in these particular instances. You are rapidly approaching the overt act of levying war against the United States, and you will find the definition of that in the Constitution. I trust that wiser thoughts will again control. You might as well ask me to vote to dissolve the Government."

It was probably from this very message that President Cleveland conceived the idea of sending United States troops to Chicago to suppress the great labor riot, which was one of the noblest acts of his presidential career.

We would do great injustice to Senator Davis' intellectual power, were we to omit calling special attention to his orations and public addresses, delivered on many occasions of great moment, and on widely different subjects. When, on July 4, 1880, the Minnesota Historical Society celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony by Louis Hennepin, Governor Davis was selected as the orator of that imposing occasion. The audience was immense, and many of the most distinguished men of the nation honored the day with their presence. The oration was all that could be hoped for with such a theme, and such a spot, and such a speaker. There are passages in it

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worthy of Cicero. Take this superb figure: "This cataract has been manacled by the hand of man, and works like the blind Samson in his mills."

Another of his elaborate orations was delivered at the laying of the corner stone of the New Capitol in St. Paul, July 27, 1898. It was one of his best addresses, eminently worthy of the stately occasion, and was deservedly admired. The design of the oration was as exalted as the execution was masterly.

On the 2d of July, 1897, Senator Davis delivered an address on the battlefield of Gettysburg, at the unveiling of the statue erected by our state in honor of the First Regiment's gallant deeds on that historic site. Spoken upon a battlefield where blood flowed from the splendid valor of our own sons, yet toleration and moderation marked every sentiment of that grand utterance. It was a message of peace and good will to all the Republic. It is rich and fragrant with the generosity of the great heart of one who spoke as nobly as he fought. Listen to that patriotic voice of toleration and moderation that speaks to a reunited country louder than a bugle call:

"And it was this transcendental fealty which so soon reunited us in one family by the combined efforts of men in whom hostility had been appeased, and closed that awful chasm which our evil-wishers abroad predicted would always divide us by a fixed and impassable gulf. The same earthquake force which opened that abyss closed it again, and we stand now, here and every-

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where, upon solid ground—holy ground here, because it is a tomb where the hosts of valor and patriotism have ‘set up their everlasting rest.’ It is also a field of resurrection whence has arisen the Genius of a restored Union.”

But brilliant examples of his power as an orator abound through all his addresses. These will serve to guide the reader to the rich mine that will forever remain as our state’s heritage, bequeathed to us by our greatest orator. It should be the loving task of some loyal son of Minnesota, to gather his speeches and addresses in a volume, the better to preserve them in a proper and durable form. Permit me to quote another passage from his Gettysburg oration, to further illustrate his classic style and exquisite beauty of expression:

“How lovingly Peace, enrobed in her imperial mantle of golden harvests, reigns over this delicious landscape. The refulgent armor of war now rusts beneath our feet. The cannon that we see here in position among the ranks which sleep in the invincible array of death are silent forever. Peace now holds an unbroken sway over our dear land. And yet thirty-four years ago today she fled affrighted from this scene. The fiery chariots of War were reaping here the fields and were gathering a harvest of men into that tabernacle of never-ending rest, wherein all grains and fruits and flowers and men and all living things must be garnered at last.”

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It would be an unpardonable fault, in citing these examples of his style, to omit a quotation from the address he delivered at the "Seventeenth Meeting of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee," at Lake Minnetonka, August 13, 1884. General Grant had written Governor Davis a personal letter, asking him to deliver the regular address on that occasion. Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and other illustrious men were present. Attention is called to that splendid burst of eloquence wherein he summons the phantom armies of Napoleon and their imperial marshals in the "fields of air." I challenge the whole range of oratory, modern and ancient as well, to rival this superb utterance.

"* * * It was a sublime conception of the Austrian poet Zedlitz, that before the statue of the great Napoleon in the Place Vendome the hosts of the Empire muster for review. While Paris sleeps, the disembodied cohorts of the dead conqueror break the marble calm of death and are marshalled upon the fields of air. The armies of twenty years stand embattled on that aerial plain. They come from the slime of the Nile, from the sands of Arabia, from the snows of Russia, from Alpine ice, from German plains, from the fields of Italy, from Spanish sierras, from the waves of Trafalgar. The imperial marshals are there: Murat, with his squadrons; Davout, with the victors of Auerstadt; Massena, with the famine-stricken defenders of Genoa; Macdonald, sword in hand, and on foot, at the head of the eighteen thousand immortals who broke the

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Austrian center at Wagram; slaughtered Ney, with the apparition of the despairing Guard, which broke in vain in bloody surges upon the English squares at Waterloo. The spectres of auxiliary kings, their brows gold-bound with phantom crowns bestowed by him, career before their shadowy legions, and far off upon the confines of the night the phantasma of vanquished armies in full retreat is dimly seen upon a hundred fields. Martial music is faintly heard beneath the stars, and upon the spirit banners of the pallid and evanescent host as it sweeps in dark review before the bronze emperor, who has also taken a ghostly life, gleam the words 'Ave Imperator! Morituri te salutant,' and then the armies of a lost cause melt into the air and the emperor becomes bronze again.

"So now and in all time will the hosts of this army defile before the Genius of History. They rise, arms in hand, from the ancient river-beds, from the bivouac of the grave, from Vicksburg and Kenesaw, from every historic battlefield, from deadly forests and noisome prison pens. The living and the dead are there, the white man and his dusky comrade. The great generals are in their places. The paeans of victorious music are heard again. The starry flag gleams among the constellations. This pageant fades from the Elysian fields, and History, taking up her pen, writes of that army the imperishable words, 'Its cause was not lost, for it was the cause of Liberty, my best beloved child.

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It fought the great battle of humanity and conquered, and is consecrated to the reverence of mankind.'”

In his addresses and orations there was never any attempt to be theatrical or dramatic. There was no fervid declamation; there was no violent action, as is said of Demosthenes and Roscius. In fact, the manner of his delivery did not seem much to concern him. He was calm, dignified, and wholly unimpassioned. He seemed to rely upon the substance and merit of his discourse for his impression upon his auditors. His great intellectual gifts governed his oratory. In his written orations, by the midnight lamp he carefully prepared each sentence, and was scrupulous in the selection of his words. His diction was copious, indeed a model of every elegance. Like Fox, he possessed no grace of action, and had a voice of little compass. But all this was forgotten when he got into his topic, and held you by his intellectual power. He never addressed himself to the reporters, but directly to the people before him. His pronunciation of our language was clear and beautiful, and his use of it always pure and chaste.

Nothing so refreshed his mind, except his books, as intercourse with those friends in whose companionship and converse he delighted.

Death found him at the zenith of his powers, and in control of the really great committee of the Senate. There was before him a field worthy of his splendid abilities, and hence the pathos and regret of his unex-

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pected demise. It is to be regretted that he wrote so little of a permanent character. With his sentiment and imagination, and his remarkable facility at elegant composition, combined with his great learning, he could have achieved permanent fame in any walk of literature he might have chosen.

If we were to consider his private life, he would appear sometimes to violate the correct principles of social order. To reconcile private infirmities with great public virtue is a difficult task. It is indeed a puzzling question in a biography of this sort, how far to apply the ethical laws of society to a public man. Webster was a deep drinker at times, and Clay was given to gaming; yet it was never alleged that either of them neglected a public duty by reason of personal infirmity. It is, however, a dangerous example, of evil tendency, to let the private faults of great statesmen pass uncensured. It was said of Pericles that he could deliver the most brilliant address, and then away to sup with Aspasia. But nearly twenty centuries ago society was reconstructed on a different basis. Mankind are ever indulgent toward the errors of great man. The only marked blemish on Senator Davis' reputation was a want of proper appreciation of the true character of women, who in their exalted purity are the conservators of society.

Senator Davis was twice married. His first wife was a Mrs. Laura Bowman, of Wisconsin, from whom he procured a legal separation. He was subsequently

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married to Anna Malcom Agnew (maiden name), the divorced wife of Charles Fox, of St. Paul. This marriage occurred in 1888. Neither wife bore him children.

He died at eight o'clock, November 27, 1900, at his home, 130 Farrington avenue, at sixty-two years of age. He had suffered for two months from senile gangrene, which later became complicated with acute inflammation of the kidneys. There were present at his death-bed his venerable father, ninety years of age (his mother, eighty-six, was in the adjoining room); his wife; his sister, Mrs. Bartlett Tripp; his regular physician, Dr. A. J. Stone; two consulting physicians; his legal partner, C. A. Severance; and the nurses.

His remains lay in state in the Governor's Room at the Capitol, where they were visited by an immense and constant procession of citizens. On the day of the funeral all public business was suspended. Messages of sympathy, from the President of the United States, from cabinet officers, senators, and foreign ministers, poured in upon the family. The press of the entire nation paid tribute to his memory. Indeed, the whole people mourned.

The funeral took place Saturday, December 1, 1900. Half-masted flags told mutely but eloquently of the national bereavement. The surging throngs which occupied the streets attested the respect and consideration in which he was held by his immediate fellow-citizens. The services were conducted by Dr. C. D. Andrews, of Christ Episcopal church. United States

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senators, congressmen, the governor and his staff, the Loyal Legion, the city officers, Grand Army posts, and a long procession of carriages, followed the remains of Minnesota's greatest statesman, whose casket, covered with a profusion of flowers, was laid away in the mortuary chapel at Oakland Cemetery, December 3d.

His body rested in the chapel at Oakland till his widow saw fit to cause its removal to Arlington Cemetery, Washington, D. C., October 23, 1901. The monument in Arlington Cemetery, erected by his widow, is quite an imposing structure, fifteen feet high, of brown Italian granite. It is surmounted by a very good marble bust of the senator. At the base is a raised carving on the stone, with a table at which the senator is sitting, represented as signing the Treaty of Paris. The inscription on the monument is as follows:

SENATOR
CUSHMAN KELLOGG DAVIS
SOLDIER,
SCHOLAR,
STATESMAN.

JUNE 16, 1838—Nov. 27, 1900.

It is impossible to close this record of Senator Davis' history without expressing profound regret that his widow removed his remains to Arlington Cemetery, near Washington city. This act greatly disturbed the tender feelings of the people of Minnesota. Here he had lived his life, fought his battles, and won his high

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honors. The very threads of his existence were interwoven with Minnesota, and his body should be inurned in its soil. I freely express the hope that the day will yet come when his remains will be returned to sleep in the bosom of the state he so dearly loved and faithfully served; and that an admiring and remembering people will rear to him a monument worthy of his name and fame.

Governor Davis presented four published messages to the state legislature, as follows:

Inaugural Message, delivered January 9, 1874, published as a pamphlet of thirty pages and also in the Executive Documents of Minnesota for the year 1873 (St. Paul, 1874).

Annual Message, January 8, 1875, thirty-two pages, as a pamphlet and in the Executive Documents for 1874 (St. Paul, 1875).

Special Message, January 29, 1875, transmitting the Report of Hon. H. H. Sibley, chairman of the committee appointed by the Governor, to distribute the relief afforded to the people of the frontier counties, suffering from the ravages of grasshoppers; a pamphlet of ten pages, ordered printed by the Senate.

Annual Message, January 7, 1876, a pamphlet of forty-two pages, also published as the first paper in the Executive Documents for 1875 (St. Paul, 1876). The last six pages are devoted to the state railroad bonds, for which the governor earnestly urged due considera-

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tion and a just settlement. He introduced this part of the message as follows:

I should feel self reproach from the consciousness of having left an important duty unperformed, should I suffer this occasion to pass without expressing my views upon a subject which has been a topic of reproach by our creditors, and re- crimination, excuse and defence by many of our citizens for more than fifteen years. I allude to the obligations, moral and legal, to which the state is subject by the evidences of its indebtedness commonly known as the Minnesota state railroad bonds.

They were executed so long ago that, of our present population, over four hundred thousand have become inhabitants since the date of these securities; so many popular ideas upon the question have been the creation of hasty, angry or insufficient assertion, that it does not seem improper to present here a concise historical statement showing precisely what was done by the state in the premises. I give it in the hope that it may be influential in clearing away some of the distorting and erroneous assumptions of fact which have obscured the subject, and, as I think, darkened the conscience of this people.

After relating very clearly the history of these bonds and of the state enactments concerning them, Davis closed his final message as governor with the following argument and farewell:

It is asserted by some persons who have embittered our people by the infliction of unqualified censure upon them, that we have planted ourselves upon an explicit denial that there is anything due upon these securities. Such is not the sentiment of our people. But many of them do think that the transaction is affected by circumstances which ought to abate materially from the obligation to pay these securities at their face in the case of those who hold the bonds with notice of the facts. This is a defence that any debtor has the right to make. But in making it he ought not to bar every avenue to adjudication, and make his defence as to part a pretence for not paying anything. As to the portion which we do wrongfully refuse to pay, the world will hold that we repudiate as long as we deny jurisdiction to any tribunal to entertain the question involved. I suppose that when the claims of this government against Great Britain were first advanced on account of the damages done by Confederate cruisers, the English people were as firmly persuaded that they owed nothing, and were as firmly resolved to pay nothing, as any of our

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people today are. But no man and no nation ought to be the judge in its own cause, and accordingly these great governments constituted a court at Geneva, submitted to its jurisdiction and abided by the judgment of that unimpassioned forum. It is an example worthy of our imitation. If a board of commissioners composed of men of or not of this state, eminent for integrity and judicial wisdom, could be invested with jurisdiction to hear and determine the questions involved by a consideration of every equity, legal or moral, existing on either side of the controversy, it cannot be presumed that our people would hesitate to perform the award. If these bonds were void in their inception for any reason, or if they were procured by fraudulent representations or unfaithful performance of conditions precedent, or if there is a class of unfortunate persons who invested in good faith, for value, without notice, so that the last named defence is not applicable to them, or if they are wholly due, let us meet each responsibility as becomes a great state, holding its honor dearer than anything else.

I am aware that an over-prudent calculating judgment might not prompt a public man to whom the immediate commendations of those who have honored him are very gratifying, to speak such words. But I know that there is a higher rule of action which requires that states no less than men shall do justice, no matter how onerous may be the performance. This rule bears upon our people now. It contains forces of self-assertion against which no opposition not founded in right can stand with any permanency. We have disregarded it too long.

Having now performed this final official act, I close my connection with the high position with which the people have honored me, with the expression of an earnest wish for the prosperity of the state, and that the eminent citizen who has been chosen as my successor may receive your most efficient aid in making his administration beneficial to the people and honorable to him.

Other published writings and addresses of Governor Davis, in their chronologic order, are:

The Railroad Question, an address at Rochester, Minn., October 9, 1873; a newspaper report, pasted to form a pamphlet of 11 pages, in the Minnesota Historical Society Library.

The Permanency of our Institutions, an oration at the Centennial Celebration at St. Paul, July 4, 1876;

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published in "Our National Centennial Jubilee," edited by Frederick Saunders, New York, 1877, pages 837-848.

Closing Argument for the Respondent in the matter of the Impeachment of Sherman Page, Judge of the Tenth Judicial District, Minnesota; pamphlet of 113 pages, St. Paul, 1878. This argument, delivered on June 25 and 26, 1878, before the State Senate in its session for the impeachment trial, is also published, the same as by the pamphlet (which is a reprint, with new page numbering), in the "Impeachment of Sherman Page" (three volumes), Journal of the Senate, twentieth session, 1878, as pages 146-255 of its Volume III.

Eulogy on the Life of Governor Gorman, at a meeting of the Ramsey County Bar Association, May 24, 1876; in the Minnesota Historical Society Collections, Volume III, 1880, pages 328-332.

Oration, July 3, 1880, in Minneapolis, at the Celebration by the Minnesota Historical Society of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Discovery of the Falls of Saint Anthony in 1680, by Father Louis Hennepin (M. H. S. Collections, Volume VI, 1894, pages 39-55).

Hamlet; Madame Roland; Lectures. 102 pages; St. Paul, 1882.

The Law in Shakespeare, 303 pages; St. Paul, 1883, and second edition, 1884.

Oration of Comrade C. K. Davis, Ex-Governor of Minnesota, delivered at the Fifteenth Annual Observance of "Memorial Day," in St. Paul, May 30th, 1884; a pamphlet of seven pages, published by Acker Post

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No. 21, Department of Minnesota, G. A. R., reprinted from a newspaper.

Address at the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, held at Lake Minnetonka, Minn., August 13, 1884; in the Report of the Proceedings of the Society, 1884-87, published in Cincinnati, 1893, pages 69-84.

Address at the opening of the Minneapolis Exposition, August 23, 1886; pamphlet of 18 pages.

Admission of South Dakota, Speech in the Senate of the United States, April 11, 1888. 30 pages; Washington, 1888.

Address, September 14, 1889, in Minneapolis, on the 251st Anniversary of the First Swedish Settlements in America; pamphlet of 13 pages.

The Claims of the Northwest for the Improvement of St. Mary's River and Hay Lake Channel, Speech in the Senate of the United States, January 9, 1890. 16 pages; Washington, 1890.

Against the United States Subsidizing the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua in the Sum of One Hundred Millions of Dollars, Speech in the U. S. Senate, February 20, 1891. 16 pages; Washington, 1891.

Relations with Hawaii, Speech in the U. S. Senate, January 10-11, 1894. 48 pages; Washington, 1894.

Speech in the Senate of the United States, July 10, 1894, in Reply to Senator Peffer and to Senator Kyle's Resolution [relating to the great railroad strike]. 16 pages; Washington, 1894.

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Progress of the United States during the Half Century, an address in the Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the Minnesota Historical Society, in the Capitol, St. Paul, November 15, 1895; M. H. S. Collections, Volume IX, 1901, pages 617-622.

The Monroe Doctrine, Speech in the U. S. Senate, February 17, 1896. 14 pages; Washington, 1896.

An address to the Citizens of Saint Paul, August 4, 1896 [relating chiefly to national coinage questions]; a pamphlet of 15 pages, reprinted from a newspaper.

An address at Gettysburg, Pa., July 2, 1897, at the Unveiling of the Statue erected by the State of Minnesota to commemorate the Charge made by the First Regiment of Minnesota Infantry Volunteers on the second day of July, 1863; a pamphlet of ten pages.

Lectures on International Law before the Faculty and Students of the University of Minnesota, October, 1897; pamphlet of 80 pages, St. Paul.

An address at St. Paul, July 27, 1898, at the Laying of the Corner Stone of the Capitol of Minnesota; a pamphlet of 23 pages, and also a part (pages 15-28) in Proceedings at the Laying of the Corner Stone, etc. (St. Paul, 1898).

Speech at Minneapolis, September 7, 1898 [relating to party issues in the state political campaign]; a pamphlet of 16 pages.

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The Treaty of Paris, Speech before the Union League Club of Chicago, February 22, 1899; pamphlet, 14 pages.

Speech before the Alumni of the University of Pennsylvania, June 12, 1900; in *The Alumni Register*, July, 1900.

A Treatise on International Law, including American Diplomacy, with Introduction by Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge; annotated and revised by Peter J. Healey. 368 pages; St. Paul, 1901.



JOHN S. PILLSBURY.

JOHN SARGENT PILLSBURY

Eighth Governor of the State of Minnesota, was born in Sutton, N. H., July 29, 1827, and died in Minneapolis, Minn., October 18, 1901. He was a Territorial Pioneer of Minnesota; became one of the foremost business men, in lumbering and flour-milling, in the world; and was preeminent for his service to the State University. He was Governor of Minnesota from January 7, 1876, to January 10, 1882.

JOHN SARGENT PILLSBURY

EIGHTH GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

January 7, 1876, to January 10, 1882

THE Pillsbury tribe for more than one hundred years has been considered a virile race in New Hampshire. They were of Puritan stock. William Pillsbury is the name which first appears in this country, coming to Boston, Mass., from England in 1640 or 1641. Micajah Pillsbury, who had served in the Revolutionary War, removed from Amesbury, Mass., to Sutton, N. H., in 1795. Three of his sons were representatives of that town in the state legislature. The youngest of these, John Pillsbury, the father of the subject of this sketch, was a manufacturer, a mechanic, and subsequently a farmer, a man quite prominent in local and state politics. He lived till 1856, and left behind him a good reputation for practical ability and manly honor. His wife was Susan Wadleigh, and to this union there came five children, four sons and one daughter. John Sargent Pillsbury was the third son, and was born in Sutton, Merrimack county, N. H., July 29, 1827.

He received but a New England common school education. His college was the great world, its stirring scenes, events, men, and business. As a youth, he began

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his practical education by learning the painter's trade. But a taste for commercial life and business dominated his purposes, and at as early an age as sixteen he entered on a mercantile career. He was first a clerk for his brother, George A. Pillsbury, at Warner, N. H., in a general country store, where he remained until he became of age. At that time he entered into co-partnership with Walter Harriman, at Warner, which continued for two years. This business associate afterward became governor of New Hampshire. Young Pillsbury then removed to Concord, N. H., where he engaged in the business of merchant tailoring, and here he remained four years.

His experience as an apprentice, a clerk in a country store, a partner in larger business operations, gradually developed that business sagacity which was the marked characteristic of his life. But in 1853 he listened to the voice of Horace Greeley which said "Go West, young man," and he made an extended tour of observation into the great Northwest, seeking a more desirable arena for his ambitious nature. Finally, in June, 1855, he visited Minnesota, saw the Falls of St. Anthony, and in his vision beheld the future possibilities of that wonderful spot, and there found home and destiny for the rest of his life.

He engaged in the hardware business on a continually enlarging scale, with George F. Cross and Woodbury Fisk, the latter being a brother of his wife. This firm continued to prosper until the panic of 1857 came,

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and with it a loss of nearly \$38,000 by fire without insurance. The combined blow would have completely paralyzed an ordinary man, but it only nerved him to greater activity and strengthened his courage. Pillsbury was always at his best in trying ordeals. With his indomitable will and indefatigable energy, within five years he had met every obligation and greatly enlarged his business. He possessed two assets which always carried the day with his creditors, energy and scrupulous honesty. His business yearly increased in magnitude and became very lucrative.

He continued in the hardware business until 1875, when he withdrew from that specialty to engage in other and larger enterprises. He had already entered into the milling business in 1873. He had associated with him his nephew, Charles A. Pillsbury, a young man of ability and energy who was destined to be a marked figure in the business circles of Minneapolis. Later on this firm included his brother, George A. Pillsbury, and another nephew, Fred C. Pillsbury. This firm became noted throughout the whole country, and their fame extended to Europe. They erected several large flouring mills with the very latest improvements, and first introduced the roller process in the Northwest. One of the mills was mentioned at that period as the largest in the world, with a daily capacity of 7,000 barrels. In 1890 this gigantic business, now swollen beyond all precedent, was sold to an English syndicate, though John S. Pillsbury and his nephews were given the management of these

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mills at Minneapolis, they retaining a large interest in the stock.

During the development of this great industry, Mr. Pillsbury was called by his fellow citizens to several public duties. In 1858 he was elected a member of the city council of St. Anthony, a position he held for many years. In 1863 he was elected a state senator from Hennepin county, and was re-elected for the five following terms. He must have proved a very efficient member to be so repeatedly honored.

When the Civil War broke out, he did royal service in aiding in the formation of several regiments, and at the outbreak of Indian hostilities, in 1862, he raised and equipped a mounted company for that service. This set the seal of patriotism on his character as a citizen.

Fortunately for the state and the State University, in 1863 Mr. Pillsbury was appointed one of its regents, and he at once began to examine into its condition. In 1851 Congress had granted 46,000 acres of land in the then territory of Minnesota to aid in the establishment of a university. To secure the erection of necessary buildings, this land had been mortgaged for \$40,000, and when the main building was completed, in 1857, a mortgage of \$15,000 was placed upon it. The financial crash which came in 1857 found the university overwhelmed with debt, and the trustees were in despair. No more money could be raised, and the legislature at that period was unable to come to its assistance.

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In 1862 the legislature authorized the regents to "convey any and all of the lands" of the state university to pay its enormous debts, and to let its creditors take all its assets. But Mr. Pillsbury resolved differently. He lived near by the University. He made its desperate situation a personal matter. Without a collegiate or even academic education, he resolved that the youth of his adopted state should have opportunities which had been denied to him. He studied every detail of the situation. He gave to its affairs the same study and care as to his own private business. A new Board of Regents at his instance was organized by the legislature, March 4, 1864, to conduct all its business affairs. This act gave full power to the new board. This was the turning point in the fate of the university. Mr. Pillsbury now put forth a supreme personal effort. He visited all the creditors, traveled far and wide, and, in the end, fully discharged all debts, liens, and judgments against the university, and saved some thirty thousand acres of the land grant, and secured, free from all incumbrances, the present site of the university, its buildings, and its splendid campus. From that time on the university has prospered, marching forward till it ranks with the greatest and best of the collegiate institutions of the land. He was its friend and savior; through all succeeding years, so long as he lived, he was its powerful protector and promoter; and when he died, it seemed as though the university had gone into a state of orphanage.

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Mr. Pillsbury, as were all his tribe, was a strict Republican in politics. Wonderful success had come to him in all his business affairs. Not only his milling but his lumber business had increased many fold. His splendid management of the affairs of the state university had been the admiration of the state. His comprehensive views and practical sagacity during his long service in the state senate brought and kept him before the public. Thus it seemed very naturally to happen that, in 1875, he was, apparently without effort on his part, nominated for governor of the state. He was elected to that position by nearly twelve thousand majority over his principal competitor, the Hon. D. L. Buell, the latter receiving 32,275 votes. R. F. Humiston received 1,669 votes for governor. Pillsbury's total vote was 47,073.

It seemed that the time was opportune for the state to have a *business* governor. The people of the state were oppressed with local debts; they were scourged with grasshoppers; agriculture was depressed; mortgages covered the land; the old Five Million Loan indebtedness hung like a pall over the commonwealth. It does not often happen that lawyers and politicians are practical business men. At this epoch the affairs of the state were generally in a bad situation. What was wanting was a strong, vigorous, practical and sagacious business governor. With John S. Pillsbury, the hour and the man had come. His business career justified popular expectation, and inspired the people with hope.

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His inaugural address met the approbation of all classes. It evinced a clear apprehension of the needs of the people. The more direct control of railways was one of the exciting questions of the hour. Governor Pillsbury took firm ground for governmental control of these highways, and this position was subsequently affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. He took strong ground for legislative economy, and resolutely vetoed reckless extravagance made in defiance of the condition of the public finances.

But perhaps the most remarkable feature of his first message was that wherein he pleaded for the honor of the state, with force and earnestness, for the proper and speedy adjustment of the long standing and oft repudiated old railroad bonds. It was not a popular measure. The people had rejected several propositions for the settlement of these old obligations, and ordinary politicians did not dare to touch the vexed question. But John S. Pillsbury was not an ordinary man. Nerve was a family trait. The legislature to which this first earnest appeal was made was not yet ready to give it effect. But the governor was persistent in his efforts to wipe this stain from the escutcheon of the state. Year by year, and message by message, he returned to the attack, till finally, by an act dated March 3, 1881, his efforts were crowned with victory, and he had the pleasure of signing the bill which all now acknowledge to have been one of obvious public justice,

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and one with which his name will always be distinctly identified.

It was during his administration that the great scourge of grasshoppers visited our frontier, and with insatiable appetite devoured every green thing. It is quite impossible for the reader of today to realize the destruction which came from these pests. For three successive years they renewed their ravages and desolated entire counties. The governor sought to devise some practical plan for public relief. He opened correspondence with scientific men, and issued invitations to the governors of such states and territories as had suffered most. He secured a meeting of these dignitaries at Omaha, in October, 1877. He was chosen chairman of the assemblage. They memorialized Congress for aid in a thorough scientific investigation with a view to protection. They elicited a large fund of information, and general instructions were disseminated through the scourged districts in accordance with the knowledge obtained.

The winter of 1876-77 witnessed the most extreme suffering in the counties of southwestern Minnesota, the result of this scourge, that any portion of our people have ever endured. Not satisfied with the information gleaned from his agents, the noble-hearted governor resolved to go in person and see for himself. For the purposes of more accurate information, he went incognito. In the middle of December, in zero weather, over the bleak prairies the brave governor prosecuted his search, and discovered hundreds on the verge of starva-

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tion; and the people of the more prosperous portions of the state believed his reports, and organized aid poured in upon the sufferers.

His message to the legislature of 1877 is known as the "grasshopper message," and is filled with practical recommendations for the counteracting of the scourge and the relief of its victims. With returning spring came returning apprehensions of a renewal of the fearful scourge. Many religious bodies expressed a wish for a day of fasting and prayer, and with the inspiration of his Puritan blood and strong religious convictions, the governor issued his celebrated proclamation asking the merciful Father for his sovereign interposition in behalf of an afflicted people. This executive utterance attracted wide attention and discussion. The recommendation was generally heeded over all the state. As the season progressed, it was found that the insects had disappeared, and thousands of good people firmly believed that the hand of a special Providence had not been invoked in vain.

The Republican convention of 1877 renominated Governor Pillsbury by acclamation, and he was re-elected for his second term by an increased majority of eighteen thousand over his opponent, the Hon. William L. Banning, of St. Paul. The vote stood as follows: J. S. Pillsbury, 57,071; W. L. Banning, 39,147; and William Meigher, 2,396. This second inauguration was marked by unusual public demonstrations and took place in the opera house in St. Paul. His message was marked by

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many practical recommendations, among which may be mentioned the establishment of a high school board; the creation of the office of public examiner; further provision for the care of the insane; the construction of another state prison; additional aid to the impoverished victims of the grasshopper scourge; a renewed recommendation for biennial sessions of the legislature by constitutional amendment; and again, for the third time, he urged the speedy adjustment of the old railroad bonds. The wisdom of all these suggestions was well appreciated, and all of them were duly enacted into law.

In 1879 political excitement was once more renewed. Who should be governor, was the question pressed upon the general public. Governor Pillsbury had not yet secured by legislative enactment all his practical suggestions, and especially the old railroad bond question was yet unsettled. The feeling was strongly in favor of giving the governor a third term to enable him to complete his good work. The nomination was therefore pressed upon him, and he reluctantly accepted this extraordinary mark of honor. His opponent was the Hon. Edmund Rice, of St. Paul, a most estimable gentleman, with popular family connections, and widely known over the state. Governor Pillsbury was, however, re-elected by a large majority. This was the first and only instance in our history where a governor was given a third term. But the people had such confidence in him that all precedent was brushed aside in his favor. In this election Pillsbury received 57,524 votes, and Rice, 41,524.

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The proposition for biennial sessions of the legislature having carried, there was no legislature in 1880. It was at this period that the hospital for the insane at St. Peter was burned. Winter was approaching and prompt action was required. But Governor Pillsbury was equal to the emergency. He advanced money out of his own pocket, as he had done before to aid the grasshopper sufferers. The work was speedily done, and the helpless insane were provided for.

The new legislature convened in 1881. The old battle for the payment of the unadjusted railroad bonds was renewed. The governor's untiring appeals for a settlement of this vexed problem had resulted in good educational work. The Pioneer Press, under the control of that fearless apostle of the state's honor, Joseph A. Wheelock, did mighty service in convincing the people of the wisdom of purging its record of the great stain resting upon its honor. Religious bodies joined in swelling the appeal for delayed justice. Public sentiment itself grew stronger, so that the race of evading politicians who yet resisted the cleansing of the state's dishonored record were overwhelmed. The limits of this work will not admit of our pursuing the long and tortuous story of the state's final vindication. Suffice it to say that the closing days of Governor Pillsbury's administration were crowned with a noble triumph; the haunting specter of repudiation was driven away; and the proud young commonwealth, purged and purified, took its place in the sisterhood of honorable states. The

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victory was due more to the supreme efforts of John Sargent Pillsbury and Joseph A. Wheelock than to other instrumentalities, however valiant others may have been.

It was during the closing period of Governor Pillsbury's last administration that the old territorial capitol, completed in 1853, was destroyed by fire. It was on the night of March 1, 1881, during the last days of the legislative session of that year. A thorough inspection of the ruins was made, and a new building was found necessary. Plans secured by Governor Pillsbury were adopted, and the foundation was laid in the summer of 1881. The fire had not ceased burning when the city of St. Paul, through its mayor and city council, generously tendered to Governor Pillsbury the large, new market house for the use of the state, pending the construction of the new building; and almost at the hour for its usual meeting on the following day the legislature and all the officers of the state were there engaged in their regular order of work. That building for twenty-two months became the home of the state government. It was there, January 10, 1882, that Governor Pillsbury bade adieu to the cares and perplexities of gubernatorial life, which for six consecutive years he had so faithfully met and nobly performed.

For the years following to the date of his death, he was industriously engaged in managing his large and prosperous private business. He was now president of the board of regents of the state University, and gave to that institution most faithful and paternal care. In

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company with Judge Greenleaf Clark, he went East in 1883 to search for a new president, Professor W. W. Folwell having resigned from the presidency after service during fourteen years. To this question he gave great care and consideration, and made a wise and fortunate selection in securing Professor Cyrus Northrop of Yale College.

April 16, 1889, was made memorable when, in the presence of the legislature, state officers, and board of regents, he took them all with complete surprise by his great gift of \$150,000 to erect and complete Science Hall for the university, which has since been named Pillsbury Hall by the regents. This large and munificent donation was fully appreciated, for it came at a time when the financial condition of the state made it impossible for the legislature to care further for the present necessities of the university. The residue of his life was marked by many public duties and adorned with private benefactions.

In September, 1900, the year before he died, his statue in bronze, by Daniel Chester French, was placed in front of the library and administration building of the University, as the gift of many of its students, alumni, faculty, and friends.

His last benefaction to his city was to provide for the erection of a beautiful library building, as a branch of the city public library for East Minneapolis, which was built after his death.

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It was during Pillsbury's last term as governor, in 1880, that a very exciting congressional contest in the First District occurred. Hon. Mark H. Dunnell, a man of much force of character, was serving his fifth term in Congress, and much discontent was manifest in the district. It was alleged that he had built a "machine," and it was the object of the opposition to break it in pieces. The result was a bitter and malignant contest such as is seldom seen. Every county in the district became involved, and two conventions were held in the same opera house at Waseca, July 7, 1880. Hon. W. G. Ward was nominated by one convention, and Mark H. Dunnell by the other. The contest was thence carried to the people. An appeal was finally made to the state central committee, to decide which of the two possessed the merit of regularity. The committee decided in favor of Dunnell, and the machinery of the party prevailed and Dunnell was elected.

Still another bitter internecine political war occurred later, in 1882, during the closing of the Pillsbury administration. Hon. Knute Nelson and C. F. Kindred were both Republican candidates for Congress in the Fifth Congressional District, composed of twenty-eight northern counties. The rivalry for the nomination assumed the most intense form. Kindred was a wealthy man and spent money freely. It also resulted in a double-headed convention, held at Detroit, July 12th, 1882. Brass bands, shouting processions and yelling delegates, as if pandemonium had broken loose, were

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the order of the day. While there was no absolute violence, the air was thick with basest adjectives. Again the authority of the Republican state central committee was invoked to settle the question of regularity, and the decision was in favor of Nelson. But Kindred was not subdued. He spent money lavishly, established newspapers, and had an expensive literary bureau. With brass bands, torch-light processions, special trains, the campaign blazed with intense heat. With a shattered fortune, Kindred emerged from the campaign a defeated candidate. Never before nor since has the state witnessed such a political plunger. In November the vote stood Nelson, 16,956; Kindred, 12,238; and E. P. Barnum, Democrat, 6,248. "Regularity" and the Scandinavian vote did the work for Nelson, and ushered into our state politics a virile Norseman, who, ever since, has not only maintained but steadily increased his political power.

It was during the administration of Governor Pillsbury, that the country was shocked by the assassination of President Garfield, an act abhorrent to the civilized world. William Windom, an honored son of Minnesota, was the successful Secretary of the United States Treasury, and his brilliant financial policy reflected great honor upon the state. The counties of Beltrami, Norman, Kittson, Marshall, Pipestone and Kanabec, were organized.

One of the notable incidents during this administration was the trial and impeachment of E. St. Julien Cox, judge of the Ninth Judicial District. Intemperate

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habits, while on the bench and in the discharge of official functions, were the gist of the charges, which were sustained by the court of impeachment, and he was deposed from office.

Governor Pillsbury was in all respects a remarkable man. Like Alexander Ramsey, he possessed that rarest of all faculties, common sense. His services to the state were truly valuable. He displayed firmness, ability, and wonderful business sagacity in the important scenes in which he performed so conspicuous a part. He was not, like Ramsey or Sibley, one of the original constructors of the state, but he was the great Conservator of the commonwealth. He was more, not only preserving from loss or injury, but augmenting and improving every department of the state government. He never demeaned himself by pandering to political prejudices. The arts of a demagogue never were his. He never quailed before public opinion. He possessed the faculty of doing great work easily; his self control was admirable.

Of all our governors he was the most paternal. He cared for the people like a good father. His sympathies were tender and sweet. His personal qualities were not such as to compel special admiration, he was no orator nor even public speaker. But when it came to practical administrative ability, he ranked with the highest. Pillsbury and Hubbard were much on a level in this regard. The end of all government is the comfort and happiness of the people, and these things Governor Pillsbury studied with assiduous care. He seemed to be animated

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solely with the desire of furthering the public good. His judicial and other important appointments were all above party bias, and won the good opinion of all parties.

Governor Pillsbury possessed a strong religious nature, and had profound respect for all religious matters. Though not a member of any church, he joined his wife in regular attendance at the First Congregational church, of which he was an officer, and she a devoted member.

Aside from the multitudinous details of lesser matters which commanded time and attention during his long service as governor, but which, important as they were, will be speedily forgotten, there are two things which will ever stand as enduring monuments to his honor and fame: That the University exists at all, and has prospered till it has become a state benediction; this, and the proud achievement of placing the state on the solid basis of financial honor. These alone will ever preserve his name in grateful remembrance.

Governor Pillsbury died at his home in Minneapolis, October 18th, 1901.

He was married in Warner, N. H., November 3, 1856, to Miss Mahala Fisk. Her family, on both sides, were very prominent people, with a noble New England ancestry. She was well educated and was a graduate of Sanbornton Seminary at the age of nineteen, when she became a teacher, and only retired from that profession to become the wife of John Sargent Pillsbury, and at once removed to the far West. She shared all her husband's trials and final success, and was ever his safe and

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prudent counselor. Her annual receptions at her home to the students of the senior class of the University will ever be remembered as unique and enjoyable occasions. She still resides at the family homestead, number 1005 Fifth street southeast, in Minneapolis.

Mrs. Pillsbury is noted for many noble qualities, and is a woman of fine culture and tenderness of heart. Her broad and Christian charities mark well her kindly nature.

To the marriage of this goodly couple there came three children, two daughters, Susan M. (Mrs. Fred B. Snyder) and Sarah Belle (Mrs. Edward C. Gale), and a son, Alfred Fisk. They also had an adopted daughter, Addie A. (Mrs. Charles M. Webster), who died April 2, 1885.

The inaugural message of Governor Pillsbury to the state legislature, January 7, 1876, was published as a pamphlet of 28 pages, and as the second paper in the Executive Documents of Minnesota for the year 1875 (St. Paul, 1876). The opening paragraphs read thus:

In making, for the first time, that communication to you touching the condition of the State, which both the constitution and invariable custom enjoin upon the Executive, I desire to express my deep sense of the responsibility I have assumed, and to invoke your aid and co-operation in the faithful performance of the duties which the people have devolved alike upon us.

The period we have reached in the development of our State affords an occasion both for congratulation and for warning. We cannot but indulge feelings of pride and gratitude when we reflect that where, a quarter of a century ago, there was an unbroken wilderness, inhabited only by the wild beasts

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and savage men, there exists today a vigorous young commonwealth of 600,000 people, blest with all the appliances and comforts of civilized life; that solitary wastes have been supplanted by illimitable grain fields; that idle rivers have been bound to the myriad uses of productive industry; that the young State, which, upon her admission to the Union, imported breadstuffs to feed the speculators in her unproductive lands, is, in her eighteenth year, the first wheat State of the Sisterhood; that where fourteen years ago there was not one mile of completed railroad, 2,000 miles are now taxed to their utmost to carry off the surplus products; and that everywhere throughout the State, church and school-house, thriving cities and busy industries, mark the abode of a prosperous, energetic and happy people. For progress so unexampled, and prosperity so bountiful, our grateful thanks are due to Almighty God, who has wonderfully upheld us in adversity, and brought us to the verge of great opportunities; but, while thankful for such blessings, we should not be unmindful of those opportunities, nor of the responsibilities which they impose.

The annual message delivered January 4, 1877, was published as the first paper in the Executive Documents for 1876 (St. Paul, 1877), and in the same form as a pamphlet, 42 pages. The unpaid railroad bonds, long a vexed question, are treated in four pages; and the devastations by grasshoppers are the theme of five pages. Concerning the state school system, Governor Pillsbury said in this message:

Perhaps the most inevitable conclusion to which a study of our school system leads, is the necessity that its various departmental agencies and appointments should form auxiliary parts of a harmonious whole; that its successive steps should constitute a regular gradation from the alphabet to collegiate maturity, and that, like the rills and streams which, however differing in character and varying in course, reach a common goal in the ocean, the primary instruction in the common school should lead by easy stages to the crowning scholarship of the university. All alike are the gift of the State to her people dictated by the enlightened policy which qualifies the citizen for the duties demanded of him, and which sows and nourishes according to the bounty of the expected harvest. * * *

To the end desired it is therefore essential that in every stage of instruction and in every variety of school, the purpose, or at least the possibility, of this ascending continuity should

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be kept constantly in view, and especially that the finishing course elsewhere should fit pupils for freshmen at the university. This is essential to the highest efficiency whether in the lower or higher branches. It would save the time, labor and means now comparatively wasted in special preparatory schools, and furnish a perennial supply of trained pupils to push forward without interruption to the coveted goal of a complete education. The advantages are obvious to all concerned, and although unhappily the majority must fall out by the way, diverted by the exigencies of business pursuits, it should ever be a leading and cherished object of our educational system to afford at least a standing opportunity to the more fortunate and persistent, for an unobstructed pursuit in the pathway of learning from the beginning to the end of a complete education. I invoke at your hands such fostering care of the educational institutions of the State as will ensure a growth commensurate with a proud material development, and adequate to the wants of an expanding future.

January 11, 1878, Governor Pillsbury delivered his third message to the legislature, published as a pamphlet of 36 pages and as pages 13-48 in Volume I of the Executive Documents of Minnesota for 1877 (Minneapolis, 1878). On the subject of retrenchment and careful economy in public and private expenditures, he said:

* * * Now that we are emerging from a period of what is termed hard times, there is danger that our best men, impelled by a renewed spirit of enterprise, may plunge into renewed excesses. This is the periodical liability, especially of energetic communities. The facility with which immediate results may be reached by entailing their cost upon posterity, is a constant incentive to premature undertakings. If these were prosecuted only as fast as they could be paid for in cash, they would be limited to the urgent need of the hour, and extravagant expenditures and resulting oppressive taxation would be effectually checked. Hence the obvious policy of discountenancing the contraction of debt and the consistent obligation of all good citizens to curtail their private expenses and live within their means.

* * * * *

With all the financial skill and boasted progress of the age, no short cut has yet been discovered as an escape from the time-honored necessity to spend less than we make, as the first essential to real success. Whatever may be said for

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our material and political prosperity, it is not flattering to our vaunted civilization that we possess so little social wisdom; that we encumber our neighborly intercourse with the costly follies and affectations of a bedizened society; that we hamper our social freedom with the machinery of needless conventionality, and jeopard both our peace of mind and financial standing, to support the mockery of social parade.

Pillsbury's message of January 9, 1879, to the twenty-first legislature, the last holding an annual session, was published in 25 pages, as a pamphlet and as the first paper in Volume I of the Executive Documents for 1878 (Minneapolis, 1879). He presented arguments in favor of holding only biennial elections as follows:

The constitutional amendment providing for biennial, in lieu of annual, sessions of the Legislature will necessitate much adjustment of administrative machinery to correspond therewith. In effecting this, great care will be required to include practical details of an essential nature pertaining to the several branches of the government. The changes required and the examination necessarily given to the subject, would seem to afford a suitable opportunity for the consideration of another question of importance. The extraordinary frequency of elections has long been deemed by reflecting men one of the most serious evils pertaining to our form of government. The differing duration of our State offices requiring elections to fill some of them annually, and the different seasons in which township and municipal elections are held, leave intervals so short that the public finds little repose from the distractions of political warfare. The deleterious effect of these constant disturbances is manifest. They are unfavorable to public order, to the pursuit of private business, and to the dispassionate discussion of questions concerning the common welfare; they increase the aversion to political duty entertained by orderly and busy men, through whose default bad men are elected to office; while the expenses attending such frequent elections entail a heavy burden upon the people. In view of these evils, I suggest the inquiry whether an obvious public interest would not be subserved by providing for such amendments to the laws and Constitution as would require biennial elections only. For this purpose it would be necessary to cause our State elections to take place the same year as that in which members of Congress are elected, which would conform to that in which members of the Legislature are now biennially chosen, and also to the year in which the Presidential election alternately takes place. * * *

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The first biennial session of the legislature began January 4, 1881, and on January 6 Governor Pillsbury delivered his message, which forms thirty pages as a pamphlet and also as the first paper in the Executive Documents for 1880 (published in 1881). The last four pages relate to the deferred settlement of the state debt in its dishonored railroad bonds.

As a result from an act passed in that session, to provide for redemption of these bonds, and from decisions later given by the State Supreme Court, the governor summoned this legislature to an extra session, in which, on October 12, 1881, he presented a message that was published as a pamphlet of ten pages. In the closing part he said:

The act of the last Legislature, proposing an amendment to the Constitution devoting the proceeds of the Internal Improvement Lands to the payment of the adjustment bonds has been rendered inoperative by the decision of the Supreme Court. It will therefore be necessary to promptly re-adjust and re-enact its provisions to conform to the new action to be taken, in order to submit the proposed amendment to the people at the approaching general election. The average price realized thus far for the lands sold is about \$7 per acre; and the fund from such sales already amounts to \$800,000. In view of the rapid settlement of the country it is believed that the total sum which will be finally realized from the sale of these lands will reach \$4,000,000, a sum nearly or quite sufficient to pay the whole indebtedness without recourse to taxation. That there may be no wrong impression on your minds regarding the whole amount due on these bonds, I would say that by a former decision of our Supreme Court, past-due coupons draw interest, as well as the bonds to which they are attached, and should interest be computed in accordance with this decision the whole debt would amount, on December 1, 1881, to about \$8,200,000, and, should the pending proposition be consummated, the saving to the State will thus be about \$4,000,000.

If this opportunity be not immediately embraced, I am fully persuaded it will never occur again, for it cannot longer be expected that partial payment will hereafter be accepted

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by the holders of these obligations in view of the ability of the State to pay in full and the verdict of its highest court assigning to the Legislature the duty to provide for payment. * * *

For the enduring welfare of the fair State we have chosen as our home; as we would justly share in that national heritage of financial honor which is the wonder of the world; that we may deserve the reward of a generous prosperity, and invoke the blessings of Almighty God—I entreat you as a parting word to perform a simple act of justice which shall forever put at rest the haunting spectre of repudiation, and place our young commonwealth irrevocably in the sisterhood of honorable States.

Under date of June 1, 1892, a convenient reference book of 132 pages, compiled by Governor Pillsbury, was published in Minneapolis, entitled "A Compilation of National and State Laws relating to the University of Minnesota; also a description of the unsold lands granted by Acts of Congress for the endowment of said University, including a statement of the permanent University fund at interest, etc., etc."

July 13, 1892, Governor Pillsbury gave an address in his native town, which was published in a volume of 171 pages, entitled "Dedication of the Pillsbury Memorial Hall in Sutton, N. H." (printed in Concord, N. H. 1893). This address, forming a part of the dedicatory exercises, is in pages 73-100. It reviews the marvelous growth of the United States during the forty-eight years from the spring of 1844, when Pillsbury as a youth of seventeen years left his boyhood home. The gift of the Memorial Town Hall, by Governor and Mrs. Pillsbury, he noted in these words:

And so, gentlemen, selectmen, and officers of my native town, I have returned here today, with her who for more

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than a generation has been my companion, my helper, my wife, and I feel that it is fitting that she who during these long intervening years has shared with me all the burdens and experiences of life, and with me has passed through the shadows and sorrows of life, as well as its joys and sunny places, who joined her heart to mine when all we possessed was the mutual love we bore each other, should share with me in making this gift to the town of Sutton. Through you, gentlemen, and in the name of my honored parents, whose sacred ashes repose in this town, we present to the town of Sutton a deed of this building and we now deliver to you its keys. This gift we make without conditions or reservations. It is our hope that this building may remain many generations after we and our children have passed away. It is our desire that you use it not only for all your public meetings and assemblies, but as a town hall, where not only your citizenship may be exercised, but where all matters which make for the common good may have a full and fair hearing, where patriotism and individual ambition may be incited and stirred, and where the young who shall come after us shall be led on to a higher manhood and a great enthusiasm for whatever will advance mankind.

The following is a copy of the title-page of a pamphlet of 33 pages, which gives a concise history of a large part of Governor Pillsbury's public services and also states quite as fully the work of his associates: "An Address delivered by Hon. John S. Pillsbury, before the Alumni of the University of Minnesota, at the West Hotel, Minneapolis, June 1st, 1893, being a sketch of the growth and development of the University for the thirty years in which he has been a regent. Published by the Alumni Association of the University of Minnesota."

Another and probably the last of his public addresses was delivered in St. Paul, November 15, 1899, in the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the organization of the Minnesota Historical Society, published in its Collections, Volume IX, pages 597-601.

LUCIUS FREDERICK HUBBARD

NINTH GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

January 10, 1882, to January 5, 1877.

AMONG the names that adorn our gubernatorial gallery, few stand higher in practical good sense, in personal character, political integrity, and in patriotic devotion to his country in its most trying crisis, than Lucius Frederick Hubbard, the ninth governor of our state.

He directly followed another governor of practical and sagacious administrative ability, John Sargent Pillsbury, and that era of eleven years may be denominated the era of sound common sense in the administration of the state government. There is a royalty in that sterling good sense which is the best genius for mankind. You look in vain for its possessors to do a foolish thing; but wisdom guides their councils, and good judgment, with corresponding good results, crowns their public career with the happiest consequences.

Conscious as every one must feel how naturally our judgment may be biased by long personal friendship in the opinions we form of public men, yet I have most strenuously endeavored to treat each and all in this

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series of our governors with the historian's unbiased judgment as to themselves and their relation to their times and to public measures. It is the constant object of these pages to record only just and true history. Some, therefore, may be crowned with honor; others may at times suffer a shade to their discredit; but all should be clothed in the garments of truth. Public men must learn that it is their ultimate fate to be weighed and estimated both by their personal character and their public performances, for the private life of every public man will tinge his reputation, and no apparent public virtue can suppress the story of tainted private morals. These observations are a salutary lesson to those ambitious politicians whose eyes should often turn towards an impartial posterity.

Lucius Frederick Hubbard was born January 26th, 1836, at Troy, New York. He was a descendant, on the father's side, of that Hubbard family (George Hubbard and Mary Bishop) that emigrated from England to this country and settled in Connecticut in the seventeenth century. On the mother's side (Van Valkenburg) he came of the Holland Dutch stock that have occupied the valley of the Hudson river since its earliest history. His great grandfather was Israel Hubbard, who was a delegate to the Provincial Congress in Massachusetts Bay from the town of Sunderland in 1774, and in many active ways contributed to the work of preparing for the Revolution. His grandmother, on the mother's side, Margaret Van Cott, was a cousin of President

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Martin Van Buren. Young Hubbard was well blooded on both sides of the ancestral tree.

His father was Charles F. Hubbard, sheriff of Rensselaer county, N. Y., a man of high standing and influence. His mother was Margaret Van Valkenburg.

His father died when he was only three years old, and his mother died when he was ten years of age. The young orphan on the death of his father was sent to live with an aunt at Chester, Vermont, where he attended the district school for three years. Subsequently he attended an academy at Granville, N. Y. At the age of fifteen he was apprenticed to a tin smith, and gave his attention to his trade till he was eighteen years of age. He then, in 1854, went to Chicago, where he worked at his trade for three years. Caught in the current of emigration then setting to the great Northwest, he removed to Red Wing in July, 1857. With literary and political predilections, and having brought with him a printing press and type, he established in that young and promising city the "Red Wing Republican," the first number of which was issued September 4, 1857, and which has had a continuous existence since that date. He continued as the publisher and editor of that paper till he enlisted in the war.

He came to Red Wing in time to experience the trials and rugged battles of frontier life. The admission of Minnesota Territory as a state was then being agitated, and party strife was warm over the control

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of the first administration. The Kansas-Nebraska bill and Squatter Sovereignty were in the heat of discussion, and the extension of slavery was the burning question. These conditions made party strife strenuous indeed. Politics was the one great business of life, for the resources of the country had not yet appeared. Then came the climax of financial disaster in the panic of 1857. Following this was the era of "wildcat" banking, with its speedily discredited issues. Town lots lost alike their intrinsic and inflated values. The "Five Million Loan Bill," to aid in the building of land grant railroads, appeared upon the scene, but, instead of bringing financial relief, resulted in imposing a lasting debt upon the state. Money reached the appalling usury of "five per cent a month." These were some of the experiences of the pioneer of that day. But in a few years the clouds which lowered over the young state passed away, and the sun of a prosperity which has never since failed sent its cheerful rays over the land.

Young Hubbard was nursed under these conditions and strengthened for the battles before him. In his new home he was surrounded by men of strong personality, who required manly men to compete with them.

There was Colonel William Colvill, of the First Minnesota Regiment, whose courage in battle was second to no man's in the Civil War. There was William Freeborn, a typical pioneer, who delighted to live on the outer fringe of civilization, and for whom a noble

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county was named. There also was Joseph A. Thatcher, the "farmer statesman" of Zumbrota, whose ability sent him often to the legislature, where he was an efficient and strong man. There also should be mentioned Judge Eli T. Wilder, a noble and stately character, whose sterling integrity and decided ability made him a valuable asset in Red Wing. Theodore B. Sheldon should be justly named, who was a true representative of the business and commercial interests of the place, who left a large fortune and bequeathed to the city a noble auditorium building as a token of his affectionate regard. In this list of compeers should be noticed the Hon. William W. Phelps, afterward a member of Congress from the new state, a man of ability, culture and popularity. With him was associated the genial and humorous C. C. Graham. These ardent spirits controlled the United States land office, which was the center of business in that day.

One of the striking characters of the Hubbard period was Samuel P. Jennison. He was private secretary to Governor Hubbard, and he had been private secretary to Governors Ramsey and Marshall. He was secretary of state from 1872 to 1876. He was a decided factor in politics from his part of the state, and was one of the brainy men of the day. He achieved signal honors in the military field. Entering the service as adjutant of the Second Minnesota, he was speedily promoted for gallantry at the battle of Mill Springs to be lieutenant colonel of the Tenth Minnesota. Being

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in command of that regiment at the battle of Nashville, he was severely wounded, and was made brevet brigadier general for his conspicuous gallantry. He is a man who will long be remembered in his part of the state. He now resides at Covina in southern California.

One morning in April, 1861, the thunder of hostile cannon on American soil thrilled every patriot's heart. The young, the brave, the loyal, by a common impulse sprang to arms. Among those prompt to follow the flag was Lucius Frederick Hubbard. December 19, 1861, he enlisted as a private in Company A, Fifth Minnesota Infantry. His zeal and usefulness caused him to be elected captain of the company February 5, 1862. Thence began a military career which for incessant activity, the number of campaigns and engagements in which he participated, and the courage he displayed, has no superior, if any equal, in the great army of officers who served in the civil war from the state of Minnesota. This is a high encomium, but the official record sustains the eulogy.

His promotions were rapid but well deserved. He was made lieutenant colonel March 24, 1862; colonel, August 31, 1862; mustered as a veteran, February 12, 1864; and brevetted as a brigadier general, December 16, 1864, for "conspicuous gallantry in the battle of Nashville, Dec. 15 and 16," 1864.

Seven companies of the Fifth Minnesota regiment (the three others remaining in the service against the hostile Sioux) were ordered South under Colonel Hub-

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bard, and on the 24th of May, 1862, reported to General John Pope in the field before Corinth. Scarcely had the regiment established its camp and realized its surroundings, before it was brought into action. Four days after it reached the front it was precipitated into the battle of Farmington, an engagement which led up to the siege and capture of Corinth. Here the regiment received its first baptism of fire, and its gallant conduct was attested by its list of killed and wounded. Among the wounded was Colonel Hubbard. After this came the battle of Iuka; then weary and burning marches till they confronted the rebels at Corinth.

There are many events in Governor Hubbard's military career especially worthy of mention. But what was done at Corinth, Mississippi, October 3 and 4, 1862, must not be omitted. The charge of the Fifth Minnesota in the streets of Corinth was one of the most important features of that battle, for according to General Stanley, who commanded the division, it saved the day. This fact was fully confirmed by General Rosecrans, in command of the army, and by Archbishop Ireland's testimony, who, as regimental chaplain, was on the ground and witnessed the prompt and effective action of the Fifth at the critical point in the tide of battle. "Veterans could not have done better," said General Rosecrans.

It is very proper to remark here that the Rev. John Ireland, a neophyte priest of St. Paul, made his entrance into public life with Colonel Hubbard, as

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chaplain of the Fifth Minnesota Volunteers. This remarkable man, earnest, holy, and heroic, signalized his advent into the great world by an act of devotion to his imperiled country. In his young manhood, ere the cares of life had ploughed his forehead, he demonstrated then, as now, his earnest patriotism. He has grown in stature till he has become one of the leading characters in influence in this country and in the world. No prelate in his church overtops him in public esteem. Ireland is, indeed, the patriotic prelate. America feels that no dignitary of his church could be more appropriately decorated with the cardinal's red hat, than the Rev. John Ireland, archbishop of St. Paul.

The Fifth Minnesota regiment was now a part of the Fifteenth Army Corps, the organization of the army into corps occurring early in 1863. Colonel Hubbard commanded the brigade which included the Fifth regiment after the battle of Corinth, during the siege of Vicksburg, that Gibraltar of the West, and continuously till the close of the war.

After the fall of Vicksburg, Colonel Hubbard being in command of his old brigade, it was assigned to the Sixteenth Army Corps under that fiery soldier, General A. J. Smith. Hubbard took part in the fated expedition in the Spring of 1864 under General Banks up the Red river, where the valor of his brigade was illustrated on many hard fought fields, and where precious blood was poured out without avail because of the general incompetence of the unfortunate leader of that ill-

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starred expedition. There brave men fought and won seven battles, but lost the campaign.

Following this campaign, Colonel Hubbard commanded the Second brigade of the First Division of the Sixteenth Army Corps. After the return, a campaign was made during the Autumn of 1864 in Northern Mississippi, across Arkansas, and into Missouri in pursuit of General Price.

Previous to the Red River Expedition, the members of the Fifth Minnesota regiment had been re-enlisted as veterans at Black River Bridge, Mississippi, February 12, 1864.

After this date Colonel Hubbard was not in immediate command of his regiment again during the war; but the regiment was fortunately included in the Second brigade before noted as under his command.

At this era of the war General Sherman, now a victor at Atlanta, was the center of every military eye in the nation. His marvelous campaign, "smashing things to the sea," was determined upon. But in his rear was a veteran Confederate army, more than 50,000 strong, under General John B. Hood, a born fighter, whose purpose was to draw Sherman from Atlanta, and neutralize his splendid Atlanta campaign. This force now seemed headed for the Ohio river. But General George H. Thomas, under orders from Washington, sounded his trumpet, calling every scattered regiment within reach, to retard Hood's advance and to protect Sherman's rear. Among these regiments were the Fifth,

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Seventh, Ninth, and Tenth Minnesota Infantry. Hence it came that Minnesota had more of her troops represented in the great battle soon to follow than in any other contest of the war.

These Minnesota regiments were attached to the First Division, commanded by General John McArthur. The Second brigade included the Fifth and Ninth Minnesota, and was commanded by Colonel Hubbard. While this hurried organization and these dispositions were being effected by General Thomas' order, General Schofield interposed a valiant little army against Hood's advance at the village of Franklin. There occurred what was perhaps the bloodiest battle of the war. Hood again and again fiercely attacked the light entrenchments of Schofield, but his columns were hurled back by a prodigious fire, and the wreck of guns and the dead and dying told of the carnage which was wrought. Schofield accomplished the imperious purpose of the battle, holding Hood in check while Thomas was gathering and organizing his scattered forces for the great battle of Nashville.

Sherman fought no important battles in his march from Atlanta to the sea. These were all fought by the "Rock of Chickamauga" in the one engagement at Nashville. For two tempestuous days, December 15 and 16, 1864, the battle raged. The four Minnesota regiments, by the chance of war, were all aligned upon the same front, and were all fired with the same unconquerable resolution to win the victory. When that intrepid

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Scotchman, General McArthur, gave the final order for the grand charge, the Minnesota regiments seized the initiative, and never lost it, though smitten with a tempest of shot and shell, till the enemy was driven from his entrenchments and practically destroyed, and four Minnesota flags were floating from Hood's abandoned ramparts. That day the sons of Minnesota wrote the story of their unshaken valor upon Southern soil. The gallantry of her men and officers was the theme of all tongues.

Hubbard's brigade had captured nine pieces of artillery, seven stands of colors, and many prisoners. It is officially recorded that Hubbard had three horses shot under him, and was himself wounded. For his gallant conduct in this memorable battle, upon the recommendation of Generals Thomas, Smith, and McArthur, a golden star was placed upon his shoulder.

Subsequently his brigade was one of the foremost in the siege and capture of Spanish Fort and Mobile.

The campaign against Mobile was practically the close of General Hubbard's career as a soldier in the Civil War. His regiment and brigade, with him as commander, had traversed six rebel states, participated in thirteen campaigns, five sieges, and thirty-four battles and important engagements, and had lost quite as many men in the casualties of the service as were numbered in the ranks of the brigade when it first reported at the front.

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Seldom, if ever, has it fallen to the lot of any other field officer to possess a record of such remarkable activity. General John B. Sanborn, of the Fourth Regiment, was in very many engagements and battles, but numerically much less than Hubbard. While the "Old First" possesses a glorious record of many great battles, yet no one of its illustrious officers can parallel the engagements of the colonel of the Fifth. Twenty battle fields were emblazoned on the flag of the First; thirty-four on the flag of the Fifth. The military history of our Minnesota regiments in the Civil War is justly a matter of state pride, and is the exemplification of a Roman courage, in this their virgin effort in "embattled ranks," which stamps, for all time, the character of her sons for dauntless valor. The pass of Thermopylae, the graves of Marathon, the plain of Bannockburn, still attract the admiration of the generous and brave among men. So the field of Gettysburg, the slopes of Nashville, the bloody heights of Missionary Ridge, will render the name of Minnesota immortal in the annals of the world's patriot battles, not only for the luster ever waiting on lofty courage, but for the moral grandeur of that patriotism which inspired her soldiers in a truly just and noble cause. When the battles of Napoleon are but the shadow of a remembrance, these patriot combats will shine in undecaying luster in our state history.

From men like General Hubbard we learn the adaptability, the skill, the aptitude of the American volunteer to be speedily converted into the thorough soldier. Yes-

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terday a country editor, scarcely having fired a gun; today a private soldier; within less than six months holding a colonel's high commission, leading a regiment of a thousand men with judgment, with coolness, and by strict military tactics, as though bred a soldier from his youth. The genius of the American volunteer was proven equal to the extraordinary demand, guided by intelligence and fired by that patriotism which is planted eternally in every American bosom.

This is why a great standing army is not essential in the United States of America. There is a phantom army forever bivouacked on our hills and in our valleys, which needs but the touch of a just cause to rise, clothed with flesh and blood, in multitudinous and resistless power, to effect the overthrow of any adversary. It is the duty of the historian to let no occasion pass in commemorating the courage, skill, consummate ability, and glowing patriotism of the American volunteer.

General Hubbard was mustered out of service September 6, 1865, when he returned to his old home at Red Wing. He at once engaged in the pursuits of peace, and embarked extensively, in 1866, in the grain business, and subsequently added the milling industry to his activities. In 1871 and 1873 he was elected as a Republican to the state senate, where he had an industrious and honorable career. In 1874 he was appointed by the legislature one of the arbitrators to settle the dispute between the state and prison contractors; and also he was appointed by Governor Marshall one of the commis-

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sioners to investigate the embarrassing question of the proper adjustment of the old state railroad bonds. In 1877-78, in association with two other gentlemen, he contracted the building of the "Midland Railroad," from Wabasha to Zumbrota. This road has since become a part of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul system. In 1880-81 he became president of the Cannon Valley Railroad, a line leading from Red Wing to Mankato, which has since become a part of the Chicago and Great Western system. Subsequently, in 1887, he superintended the construction of the Duluth, Red Wing and Southern Railroad, and for several years was general manager of its operations. This line was afterward absorbed by the Chicago and Great Western.

These varied pursuits illustrate the activity of General Hubbard after the close of his war service. Never for one moment idle, he was always absorbed in important enterprises which were for the upbuilding of his city and locality. His energy and constant industry did much, if not more than that of any other single individual, to assure the growth and prosperity that has given Red Wing its well deserved high rank among the most progressive and delightful cities of the state.

His career as mechanic, editor, state senator, soldier, grain merchant and miller, railroad contractor and manager, with the attending wide experiences of men and business,—these educational forces and dramatic life on a frontier,—led him up to the next important event in his varied life.

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There was a good deal of politics abroad in Minnesota in 1881, although the state was solidly Republican. The preceding political campaign had enthused itself about the celebrated "brass kettle," a two-quart measure used by buyers for grading wheat. By the manipulation of this measure, it was claimed, by Ignatius Donnelly and his followers, that the farmers were systematically swindled. Under the restless Donnelly's skillful management, it precipitated a strenuous campaign. Originally a Republican, Donnelly became the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Third District, and made one of the most active campaigns the state had yet witnessed. But W. D. Washburn was elected by a good majority, and Donnelly, as usual, was turned down.

The excitement aroused by this campaign served to warm the people to political action, though no great interests were really at stake. John S. Pillsbury had been governor three terms, and a good governor he had been. Party usages, however, decided that he should now be retired and a new man sought. A flock of ambitious men appeared in the field, but the lead, from the beginning, was conceded to General Lucius F. Hubbard, of Goodhue county, and he was nominated on the first formal ballot.

Hubbard's competitor was General Richard W. Johnson, of St. Paul, a gentleman of culture and good ability, and a Democrat of high standing, with a good military record in the Civil War. General Hubbard was elected by a vote of 65,025, against 37,168 for Johnson. This

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vote illustrates the relative strength of the two parties at that period, as well as the popularity of Hubbard.

Some intestine contentions disturbed the harmony of the Republican party at the time of Hubbard's advent to power, but none of them reflected upon the Governor himself. The senatorial term of the Hon. William Windom was about to expire (March 4th, 1883). Senator Windom, it was alleged, had been chiefly instrumental in defeating Hon. Mark H. Dunnell for Congress in the First District the year before. Dunnell was an active and vigorous political worker, with four years of Congressional experience and well versed in tactical politics. His work, as the fight went on, foreshadowed Windom's overthrow. The result was the nomination of a "dark horse," the Hon. Dwight M. Sabin, an entirely new man, with but little legislative experience, but with a warm personal following. The shadow of an unfortunate business career darkened the political prospects of Sabin. Otherwise he was strong as a political organizer, possessed of a fine personality and agreeable manners, and was in every way an attractive man. After one term in the senate he was retired into private life, from which he never again emerged.

William Windom was one of the noted political characters of the Hubbard period, though his political activities extended through many years. In the defeat here mentioned, he went to his overthrow, never again to receive the endorsement of his state. Over confident,

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he had remained in Washington till victory slipped from his grasp.

Windom lacked the grand talents and culture of Davis, the genial good-nature of Ramsey, and the practical ability of a Pillsbury or a Hubbard. His greatest political asset was his unblemished personal character. He lived in that enchanted circle where political and personal morality dwell together. Even the nation at large was permeated with the conviction that Windom was an exceptionally pure man. A commanding presence, a fair speaker, of great industry and clean life, these were his gifts. Minnesota may justly be proud to have William Windom in the roster of her public men. According to the best standard of official life, though not exempt from errors, he was a noble example of dignity and virtue, and possessed those talents and principles by which public life is made honorable. Two presidents manifested their faith in him, and he surely conferred high honor upon his state. *Sit tibi terra levis.*

Lucius F. Hubbard was governor of Minnesota during five years, from January 10, 1882, to January 5, 1887. His opponent in 1883 was Adolph Biermann, who received 58,251 votes, against Hubbard's 72,462.

The second term of Hubbard's governorship was extended to three years, as were other state and county offices, in connection with the changes from annual to biennial sessions of the State Legislature, by a legislative act and a constitutional amendment which made

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the biennial state elections coincide every fourth year with the national elections.¹

The old Territorial Capitol, completed in 1853, had been destroyed by fire on the night of March 1st, 1881. The flames from the burning had not yet ceased to illuminate the locality, before the city of St. Paul, through its authorities, tendered to Governor Pillsbury the new Market Building, a large and commodious structure, for the use of the legislature and state officers. In this building, Governor Hubbard was inaugurated and exercised the functions of his office for about one year. But in January, 1883, the state offices, with the legislative body, were transferred to the new capitol, where he delivered his first biennial message.

This message, delivered January 4, 1883, is replete with an ample digest of the financial and general condition of state affairs. He especially invited attention to the necessity of imposing restraints upon the management of railroads, urging this in such an impressive manner as secured legislative attention and action. The result was the important measure creating the railroad commission as now existing. In response, also, to his recommendation, the present existing system of state grain inspection was organized.

These measures were radical and far reaching in their operation and influence. They established upon a sound and enduring basis the true theory of the control

¹See General Laws of the State of Minnesota, Twenty-third Session of the State Legislature, 1883, page 6.

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of those two vital interests of the state, the railways and the safe method of marketing grain. The system, as then established, has been modified and amended as experience has suggested, but the principles then put in operation are permanent. If nothing else marked Governor Hubbard's administration, these measures alone would give lasting value to his public service. With these was associated state inspection of dairy products, under the guiding and inspiring influence of which the state has forged to the very front of the world's production of butter. Minnesota can now say in the words of Ford, the old English poet:

"I know what's what; I know on which side
My bread is buttered."

To his recommendation we are also largely indebted for the present system of sanitary organization for the protection of the public health; for the establishment of the State Agricultural Society on its present prosperous basis, for its location on the present grounds, and the appropriation of the first \$100,000 for its use; for the establishment of the State School at Owatonna, the idea of which originated with him; for the organization of the state national guard; and for the beneficent change from annual to biennial elections. He inspired a reduction in the tax levies, while the public debt was materially decreased. These practical measures, though unattractive to the public eye, illustrate the value of a safe, prudent, capable administrator, as Governor Hubbard always demonstrated he was.

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His urgent recommendation was chiefly instrumental in securing the Soldiers' Home, for disabled and indigent veterans of the Civil War, of which he is at this writing one of the trustees. It stands at Minnehaha Falls, as a monument to the honor and patriotism of Minnesota.

He was ever the faithful friend of that invaluable institution, the Minnesota Historical Society, established by Ramsey and Sibley, whose interests have been cherished and promoted by every governor the state has had.

January 5, 1887, Governor Hubbard retired from the gubernatorial office with the cordial good wishes of the people of the state without distinction of party. As a testimonial of his high standing and excellent work as governor and his stainless record as a public man, a noble and prosperous county was named for him Hubbard County, which will perpetuate his good name through the coming years.

Governor Hubbard is a member of Acker Post, G. A. R., the Minnesota Commandery of the Loyal Legion, the Minnesota Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, the Society of the Army of the Tennessee; the Military Order of Foreign Wars, the Society of American Wars, and the Red Wing Commandery of Royal Arch Masons. He was a member for Minnesota of the Republican National Committee in the campaign of 1896.

During the Spanish War his high character as a military officer was duly recognized by President Mc-

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Kinley, and on June 6, 1898, he was appointed a brigadier general, and served throughout that war in command of the Third Division, Seventh Army Corps.

In 1889 he was appointed by the legislature of the state on a commission to compile and publish a history of the Minnesota military organizations in the Civil and Indian wars, a most valuable record in two large volumes.

As the administration at Washington had entertained the idea of recognizing, in some important way, the fitness and just claims of Governor Hubbard for federal honors and service, he, at the instance of strong friends, became in 1897 a candidate for the position of Ambassador to Italy. The justice of his claim was promptly and warmly recognized by our senators and members of Congress. Archbishop Ireland, among others, was his strong and active friend. It seemed that he was quite sure of success, when suddenly a change came from favorable to adverse conditions. This occasioned much surprise among his many friends. The facts in the case were gradually developed by correspondence and statements involving many noted public men. The allegations made were intended to cast a shade upon the business integrity of Governor Hubbard. They came from a noted intermeddler in state and national politics, who was a member of a political party not in sympathy with Governor Hubbard, and who has too often sought to dominate political interests and party politics, and to crush those not conformable to his will.

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In vindication of his personal integrity, the Governor presented to the President an array of testimony which was overwhelming in its character, and which left him without stain or censure. These vindictory documents are all now in the possession of the writer, and are so complete as to command admiration. But strangely enough, and with retributive justice, the prosecution of the Governor's vindication brought to light one of the most atrocious efforts at bribery and corruption, on the part of the very accuser of Governor Hubbard, of which we have any knowledge in the history of our state, and the utter failure of which doubtless inspired, in the spirit of revenge, the attack upon his spotless character. The vindication, however, came too late, for the appointment was made pending this affair; but Governor Hubbard's character was maintained inviolate, receiving a notable endorsement by the national administration itself in his appointment as brigadier general of Volunteers by President McKinley in 1898.

As relating to this subject, it is proper and creditable to mention the fact that in 1884 large corporations with which the Governor had previously had business connections became involved and assigned. He had, prior to his inauguration as governor, severed his official connection with these companies, and was neither an officer nor director. He was, however, unfortunately an endorser of their paper, which at times was floated to a large amount. To meet this catastrophe, for which he was in no wise responsible and for much of which

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he was without legal liability, he surrendered his entire fortune and also the property of his wife, to such an extent that not a single personal creditor lost a dollar by him, and every obligation for which he became responsible, of whatever nature, was, in the end, settled and discharged on an honorable basis, and he enjoys the proud satisfaction of leaving an unsullied heritage to his children.

In 1896 Governor Hubbard was elected a delegate to the National Republican convention at St. Louis, at which William McKinley was first nominated for president; and Hubbard was named by that convention as a member of the Republican National Committee for Minnesota. That was the notable year in which sound money as against free silver was the battle cry, and in which memorable contest William Jennings Bryan went down to defeat. To this campaign Governor Hubbard gave much time and attention, and was intimately associated with Hon. Marcus A. Hanna, chairman of the National Republican Committee, in the conduct of the same.

During the next year, 1897, Cushman K. Davis began to assert his power in national politics at Washington. His ability and culture were fully recognized, and Minnesota took pride in her senator.

It was during Governor Hubbard's second term that the Hon. S. J. R. McMillan was elected to the United States Senate for a second term. He was originally elected to that office in 1875 as a compromise candi-

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date, a "dark horse," and was taken from the supreme bench for that purpose. He was in no sense a politician, and, though an upright and conscientious man, he did not rank as a statesman. He had an honorable career, was a good jurist, but was never in any sense a strong man as a politician.

Other than those referred to, there were few and unimportant political events transpiring during the period of Governor Hubbard's administration. The Republican party was firm in its hold of political power. There was, however, one sharp contest in the Fourth Congressional District for congressional honors in 1884. The Hon. W. D. Washburn had been in Congress for three terms from the Minneapolis district, and now other aspirants presented themselves. The Hon. Loren Fletcher, of Minneapolis, and the Hon. Albert Scheffer, of St. Paul, appeared in the arena. The old contest between St. Paul and Minneapolis was distinctly manifest. It developed quite a notable battle, with the usual results in such cases. A compromise candidate was sprung at an opportune moment, and the Hon. John B. Gilfillan, of Minneapolis, was nominated and elected. But this contest was so sharp, so well fought, that it riveted the eyes of the whole state and was regarded as a shrewd piece of political work.

Few men have retired from the position of governor who were held in as high regard and esteem by the people of the state as Governor Hubbard. His practical good sense, the important measures he proposed and

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achieved, the steadiness and cleanness of his administration, his open and manly nature, all conspire to give him an elevated place in the affections and memory of the people of Minnesota. He removed from Red Wing to St. Paul in 1901, where he now resides, happy in his intercourse with his numerous friends, serving on boards and commissions of an important public character, and cheerfully performing the duties ever devolving upon a good citizen. His honorable and useful life, both in war and peace, brings him that reward which is better than a ducal coronet, and crowns him with a laurel which will not wither.

Governor Hubbard was married in Red Wing, May 17, 1868, to Miss Amelia Thomas, daughter of Charles and Amelia Thomas. The Thomas family were lineal descendants of Sir John Moore. Of this union three children were born: Charles F., in 1869; Julia M., in 1871, now Mrs. Charles H. McGill; and Lucius V., in 1873. The children, at this writing, are all living.

The first biennial message of Governor Hubbard to the legislature, January 4, 1883, was published in 36 pages as a pamphlet and as the first paper in the Executive Documents of Minnesota for 1882 (Minneapolis, 1883). The loss of the first capitol by fire in 1881, and the building of a new capitol, then occupied by the state officers and the legislature, are the subjects of the first four pages of this message. Among other subjects

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that receive lengthy consideration are the railroads and needed legislation for reducing and equalizing their freight rates, on which the governor wrote in part as follows.

* * * While we recognize the fact that these corporations confer great benefit upon the country, that they are mighty in their influence for the spread and development of our civilization, and should receive the cordial support of public sympathy in the exercise of their reasonable and legitimate functions, yet they should on their part feel that they are the servants and not the masters of the public; that, like the citizen, they are amenable to laws whose majesty at once affords them protection and commands them to respect its restraints. They should be reminded that they are creatures of the authority of the State; that it has endowed them with valuable franchises and enormous subsidies, and that it affords them that protection and enjoyment of possession which gives to all property its greatest value. They should be impressed with the fact that their legitimate resources are wholly derived from the patronage of the public, and that their proper and legal relation to the public can only be maintained by dispensing exact justice to every individual and locality with which they have to deal.

That the State has power to exercise control, within reasonable limits, over these corporations, is a principle long since established, and that it has not exercised such control to a greater degree is due to the patience and forbearance of the public. * * *

Governor Hubbard's second biennial message, January 7, 1885, formed a pamphlet of 44 pages, published also as the first paper in the Executive Documents for 1884. State inspection of grain, for its grading in a scale of prices, legislation on the management of elevators and warehouses, and state regulation of railroad freight rates and train service, are again recommended to the attention of the legislature. Concerning needed reforms of railroad transportation, the message said:

* * * The duty of the railroad companies as common carriers is to transport for all alike, with reasonable dispatch

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and at reasonable rates. What are reasonable rates and reasonable dispatch depends on the circumstances of the case, but the obligation to carry for all alike is absolute under all circumstances. No increased dispatch, no reduced rate to some, will justify any practice which works discrimination, or a restriction of his free right, to any.

The people look to you to adopt laws which shall interdict and terminate all these practices. The details of the legislation which will accomplish it, will be yours to elaborate. It is my duty to recommend that you aim to secure, at every station, an open and unrestricted market, the right of shipment for any and all, without partiality or preference, and transportation for all without discrimination at equal and reasonable rates, to any desired destination. * * *

The third and last biennial message by Hubbard to the legislature, delivered January 5, 1887, at the end of his administration as governor, was published as a pamphlet of 40 pages and as the first paper in the Executive Documents for 1886-7. In reviewing that period and its legislation, he said:

During the five years it has been my privilege to occupy the executive office Minnesota has experienced a development unprecedented in her history, and hardly equaled by that of any other community of the country for a like period of time. Her growth in population has been nearly 60 per cent, and her assessed real and personal estate has increased from \$271,158,961, in 1881, to \$458,424,777, in 1886. The industries and business interests of her people have kept pace in their development with this growth in population and wealth, and the foundations have been broadened and strengthened for that greatness of empire which is the abundant promise of our future destiny. * * *

* * * * *

Probably the most important measures of reform, more far reaching in their future influence for relief to the people than any that have been instituted in recent years, are those which constitute our present policy respecting the control and regulation of railway corporations. The legislation of 1885 upon this subject, and also that respecting state supervision of warehouses and the inspection of grain, was hailed by the people of the State at large as the dawn of their deliverance

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from monopolistic exactions and oppression. I believe the reasonable expectations of the people have not been disappointed in the result thus far in the administration of this new policy. Recognizing it as the agency through which their ultimate emancipation will be worked out, they patiently await such action at your hands as shall make it fully and completely effective to that end.

An article on "The Progress of Minnesota" was contributed by Governor Hubbard in the *North American Review*, January, 1887 (Volume CXLIV, pages 22-28).

By an act of the Legislature, April 16, 1889, Governor (and General) Hubbard was appointed a member of a board of commissioners for preparing and publishing a history entitled "Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861-1865." In this work of two volumes he contributed the "Narrative of the Fifth Regiment," forming pages 243-281, and followed by the roster of this regiment in pages 282-299, of Volume I (St. Paul, 1890, and second edition, 1891).

Other papers by General Hubbard relating to the Civil War are the following:

The Red River Expedition, read November 7, 1888, before the Minnesota Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, published in its "Glimpses of the Nation's Struggle," second series, pages 267-279 (St. Paul, 1890).

Five papers, entitled as follows, read at meetings of the Minnesota Historical Society, January, 1907, to February, 1908, to be in Volume XII of its Collections:

Minnesota in the Battles of Corinth, Mississippi, May to October, 1862.

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Minnesota in the Campaigns of Vicksburg, November, 1862, to July, 1863.

Minnesota in the Red River Expedition, Louisiana, and the Price Missouri Raid, 1864.

Minnesota in the Battles of Nashville, December 15 and 16, 1864.

Minnesota in the Campaign of Mobile, March and April, 1865.

The first of these five papers was published separately in a pamphlet of 29 pages, 1907, including remarks by Archbishop Ireland and Gen. M. D. Flower.

The second paper, on the Vicksburg campaigns, was also published as a part of a pamphlet of 64 pages 1907. Ensuing parts of this pamphlet comprise the Report of the Minnesota Vicksburg Monument Commission, consisting of General Hubbard, General C. C. Andrews, and Major T. P. Wilson; the addresses given at the dedication of the Minnesota Memorials in the Vicksburg National Military Park, May 24, 1907, by General Hubbard, Governor Johnson of Minnesota, and Governor Vardaman of Mississippi; and acts of the Minnesota Legislature and of the United States Congress, relating to this military park.

Additional papers by Hubbard in the Minnesota Historical Society Collections are:

Memorial Address in honor of Governor Ramsey (Volume X, 1905, pages 748-750).

Early Days in Goodhue County (Volume XII, 1908, pages 149-166).



ANDREW R. MCGILL.

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Tenth Governor of the State of Minnesota, was born in Saegerstown, Pennsylvania, February 19, 1840, and died in St. Paul, October 31, 1905. He was Insurance Commissioner of the State from 1873 to 1887, and a state senator from 1899 to 1905. He was governor of Minnesota from January 5, 1887, to January 9, 1889.

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TENTH GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

January 5, 1887, to January 9, 1889

WITHIN one week of each other, two unique personalities departed to the impenetrable beyond,—Governors Andrew McGill and Horace Austin. They were the Damon and Pythias of our executives, the Gemini of the gubernatorial constellation. Their departure from this life, so nearly together, recalls the fact that Adams and Jefferson died upon the same day. All their lives they were the most intimate friends. Each had his rise and development in the same city of St. Peter, a city famous for its governors. It has already furnished the state four executives, Swift, Austin, McGill, and Johnson. If Virginia was the mother of presidents, surely St. Peter is the prolific mother of governors.

But really there was something dramatic in the lives of these two governors. Their unexpected departure to the "pale realms of shade," so nearly at the same time, recalls facts in their history, showing how they had traveled life's dusty paths together, in sympathy and cooperation.

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When Governor McGill was buried, Governor Austin was one of the honorary pall bearers, and was the very last person to remain at the grave, looking where lay his old-time friend; and on the same day only one week later, was himself consigned to mother earth.

As they respected and honored each other, so the writer respects and honors both.

Andrew Ryan McGill was born in Saegerstown, Crawford county, Pennsylvania, February 19, 1840. He was of Irish ancestry. His paternal grandfather, Patrick McGill, came from near Belfast, Ireland, to the United States in 1774, when twelve years of age. Both the grandfather and an older brother served in the army of the Revolution. After the war, the brothers settled in Pennsylvania in Northumberland county. But in a few years the entire family emigrated to the western part of the state, where Patrick McGill secured a large tract of land in what is now called Crawford county. This land became the "Old Homestead" of the McGill family, and here children and grandchildren were born. Charles Dillon McGill was the youngest son, and the father of Andrew, the future governor.

The mother of Andrew was Angeline Martin. She came from Waterford, Pennsylvania. Her father's name was Armand Martin, and he had been a soldier in the war of 1812. Her grandfather, Charles Martin, of English birth, served in the Revolutionary War, and was honored after the struggle with an appointment by George Washington as a lieutenant in the Second United

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States Infantry. This position he resigned, and was appointed a major general in the state troops of Pennsylvania, a position of much importance at that time. Andrew McGill's mother appears to have been not only an exemplary woman, but a person of strong character and a thorough Christian, and withal a handsome woman. Her family were all Methodists, and she was a devout member of that church till her death. She inculcated lessons of duty and morality which bore their impress during life, though she died when Andrew was but eight years of age.

Andrew was reared in what was known as the Venango Valley, a beautiful and picturesque region on the banks of French creek, a stream made historic because of its having formed part of the route taken by Washington in 1753, when acting as a messenger from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia to the French commandant at Fort Le Boeuf. There were good schools in his native town, and he was a good scholar. At the early age of nineteen, in 1859, he assumed control of his own course in life and determined to strike out in the world for himself, notwithstanding inducements made to him by his father to remain at home on the farm. His first effort for himself was in teaching school not far from his home. Then, like Governor Swift, he turned his footsteps to the South, and going to Kentucky he also there engaged in teaching school, for which pursuit he was well qualified. He met with good success, but in a short period the Civil War occurred, and his pronounced

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Union sentiments made his abode unpleasant, and on the actual beginning of hostilities he turned to the North. Fortunately directed by an old friend, he came to Minnesota and settled in St. Peter, June 10, 1861.

The trip having exhausted his funds, he again, within a month, resorted to the schoolroom. Through his active energy he opened a select High School July 7, 1861, which he conducted as principal with ability, and many citizens of Minnesota today recount that their early education was under his instruction.

Something of the coming man is indicated in a letter which he wrote home to his oldest sister about this time (July 14, 1862): "My aspirations are to go up higher, and I presume I shall spend a lifetime in trying to improve my mind. I am studying law and pursuing other studies of importance."

But the tocsin of war roused his patriotic heart, and we find him leaving the school room and enlisting as a private in Captain Asgrim K. Skaro's Company D of the Ninth Minnesota regiment, August 19, 1862, at the age of twenty-two. He was elected first sergeant. His service was on the frontier against the Sioux Indians in their memorable outbreak. He was afterward posted at St. Peter, and was present as a guard at the hanging of the condemned Sioux at Mankato, December 26, 1862, where the writer, who was in command at that most extraordinary execution, first knew young McGill. He served with fidelity for one year, and was discharged for serious disability August 18, 1863. This was none

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too soon, for only nursing and care during weeks and months brought him back to health, but not to a degree to make it advisable for him to re-enlist, which was to him then and afterwards a great regret.

In this connection, it may be added that eleven of Minnesota's governors, rendered service in the Union army during the Civil War, or during the Sioux Indian War in this state, these being Gorman, Sibley, Swift, Miller, Marshall, Austin, Davis, Hubbard, McGill, Nelson, and Van Sant.

Returning to his home in St. Peter, McGill was elected as superintendent of schools for Nicollet county, in which capacity he served two terms. This signalized his advent into public life. Subsequently, in 1864, he purchased the St. Peter Tribune, of which he became the editor. Following this, he was elected clerk of the District Court, and during the occupancy of this office he availed himself of much leisure to study law in the office of Charles S. Bryant. He was admitted to the bar May 8, 1869, by Judge Horace Austin.

One year later, Judge Austin became governor of the state, and he appointed McGill as his private secretary. In December, 1873, shortly before the expiration of his term of office, Governor Austin appointed him Insurance Commissioner. In later years, when, in the shifting scenes, McGill became governor, he had the pleasure of reciprocating this appointment by naming ex-Governor Austin as one of the Railroad Commissioners.

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Mr. McGill held the office of Insurance Commissioner for thirteen years, having been reappointed successively by Governors Davis, Pillsbury, and Hubbard. His work in this office was valuable to the state, and through his wide information he became a recognized authority on all insurance matters.

He had now truly become a public man and possessed a general acquaintance throughout the state. Quiet, unostentatious and dignified in character, he possessed those personal and public virtues which gave him a large and intelligent following. In 1886 his friends announced him as a candidate for the Republican nomination for governor. The convention met at St. Paul September 22. His competitors were Charles A. Gilman, of St. Cloud, John L. Gibbs, of Albert Lea, and Albert Scheffer, of St. Paul. They were men of ability, with many friends.

Singularly, there were no nominating speeches made by the convention, and they proceeded to ballot, no candidate being named. On the fifth ballot McGill was duly nominated, receiving 190 out of 361 votes.

McGill's Democratic opponent was Dr. Albert A. Ames, of Minneapolis, a man who at that time possessed a remarkable popularity, especially with the laboring classes. The canvass of 1886 was vigorous and exciting and was unlike that of any campaign conducted in the state before or since that time. A High License bill had been before the legislature of 1885, with every prospect of becoming a law, but was finally defeated through the

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organized efforts of the liquor interests. The Republican party had in consequence declared in its platform at the convention September 22, 1886, for high license and local option, thus concentrating the liquor interests in a solid phalanx against it; and those representing these interests arrayed themselves with the Democratic party, with Ames as their leader.

The Prohibitionists, whose candidate for governor was James E. Child, of Waseca, practically and politically gave aid to the Democrats by polling a vote of 9,030, because they could not consistently "compromise with evil" by voting with the Republicans for the better regulation of the liquor traffic. The fight in the campaign was for and against high license,—all other questions were secondary. The excitement became intense. Ames conducted a notable and aggressive warfare, and the result appeared in much doubt. A riot in Minneapolis the night preceding the election, which it was claimed had been instigated by Democrats, is said to have cost Ames so many votes that it lost him the election. McGill received 107,064 votes, and Ames 104,464, making McGill's plurality over Ames only 2,600. Counting also the Prohibition vote, he lacked 3,216 from a majority of all the votes cast, and thus became a minority governor.

But under all the circumstances McGill's election must be regarded as a triumph for the high stand taken by the Republican party in that campaign, no less than for the man himself who so thoroughly possessed "the

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courage of his convictions," and so gallantly advocated the principles of his party which he defended to the end. The lofty character and manly deportment of McGill throughout this bitter campaign is worthy of all praise.

Andrew R. McGill was inaugurated as governor January 5, 1887. A careful examination of his inaugural address and the regular biennial address January 9, 1889, exhibits the character and purpose of the man in an exalted light. With unfaltering resolution he intelligently maintained his principles. The record shows great accomplishments.

The High License fight was resumed in the legislature of 1887. There were visible signs of weakening on the part of members who had been elected on that issue. The liquor interests, with their forces well organized, lobbied in season and out of season on the floor of both houses, and were ready to expend any amount of money to block legislation against the measure. Mass meetings were held in both St. Paul and Minneapolis to express in no uncertain terms the sentiments of the people that the demand for High License must prevail. Governor McGill did the very unusual thing of presiding at the St. Paul meeting, and was untiring in his efforts to stimulate his party to redeem their pledge. No question was ever more hotly contested, and on the days set for its consideration people thronged to the Capitol. Finally, after several struggles and amidst great excitement, the High License bill passed the Senate February

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4, 1887, and the House five days later, and immediately received the Governor's signature. This law was subsequently the model for similar bills in other states, and the point of view so changed that soon those who had been its bitterest enemies became its ardent supporters. This law remains unchanged upon our statute books to-day.

Governor McGill's administration was characterized by faithful and meritorious work in many other directions. He urged the simplification of the tax laws, the abolishment of contract prison labor, and the establishment of that noble institution, the Soldier's Home. These all stand to his favor and credit. The wisdom of these measures is more and more apparent as time advances, and their repeal has never been attempted. He advocated greater supervision of railroads as to freight and passenger rates, and was the first governor to recommend the abolishing of the issuance of free passes.

His friends may well be proud of his fearless and manly record, and the judgment of posterity will crown his name with honor. No odor of jobbery, no fumes of the political pit, rise against him; no private or public scandal ever raised a whisper against his good name.

The convention for the nomination of Governor McGill's successor was held September 5 and 6, 1888. It is quite impossible, at this distance of time, to fully comprehend just why Governor McGill, with his unexceptional record, was not entitled to the operation of that unwritten law of party usage, a renomina-

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tion. Surely he had made good in every way as governor. His friends could point with pride to his clean and satisfactory administration, and to his spotless personal character.

It was urged by those opposed that he was not popular with the people; that he had failed to receive a majority of the votes cast at his election; that with his avowed position on the temperance question he was no longer available. These subterfuges, used by designing and ambitious men who could not wait two years longer for their opportunity, were loudly paraded to the public and had their effect.

Chief among those who entered the field against McGill was William R. Merriam, who had been speaker of the House of Representatives in 1887, and was president of a bank. An eager desire for preferment was the besetting political sin of Mr. Merriam. Young in years, he could have bided his time with becoming patience.

Charles A. Gilman, of St. Cloud, John L. Gibbs, of Albert Lea, and Albert Scheffer, of St. Paul, were also pitted against McGill. They were men of ability, and each had many friends. McGill had done no wrong; there were no charges of errors of administration; but he was to be unseated because the competitors could not wait their turn for the gubernatorial mantle.

A platform of principles preceded the nomination. It endorsed the administration of Governor McGill in complimentary terms, saying, "The Republican party points with pride to the pure and clean administration

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of Governor McGill and to the measures he commended."

The convention, having thus cordially endorsed Governor McGill, proceeded to stultify itself by rejecting his unqualified right, under all party usages, and by every sense of personal justice, to a renomination. It is not too much to characterize the action of the convention as the most flagrant piece of wrong ever perpetrated by a political party in the state of Minnesota. It was simply a transcendent injustice, which had its basis in the corruption of delegates, if we credit the newspapers of the day.¹

To this sentiment was given further expression on March 15, 1907, during the eulogistic addresses to his memory in the Senate Chamber, when Senator L. O. Thorpe, of Willmar, said: "Parties, like men, have their sins of omission and commission to account for, and one of the dark spots on the Republican party in this state was the treatment of Governor McGill. * * * Although for the time being apparently discredited by his party, he became more popular and has ever since been held in higher esteem than ever before." Notwithstanding that he had been set aside in respect to renomination by his party, he remained its earnest and loyal supporter and resumed his wonted place in the ranks of citizenship, conscious that he had served his party faithfully and was willing to be judged by

¹See the St. Paul Dispatch of that period, and scores of other journals.

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the record he had made. Many subsequent rewards came to him by reason of his dignified and manly course.

On his retirement from the executive chair, Governor McGill, for a short time, engaged in a banking and trust business.

In 1898, and again in 1902, he was elected state senator for the Thirty-seventh Senatorial District. His legislative career was marked by a close application to duty and a conscientious exercise of his senatorial prerogatives. He was the pronounced enemy of all vicious legislation and the friend of all needful reforms. He was the spokesman of the old soldier on the floor of the senate. It was chiefly through his influence that the noble monument was erected to the Minnesota soldiers who fell at Vicksburg.

He participated influentially in the movement to organize Acker Post, No. 21, G. A. R., and always took an active interest in all its proceedings. He was, on the recommendation of the Hon. C. K. Davis, appointed postmaster of St. Paul by President McKinley in 1900. He thus occupied, by a suspension of the presidential rule, the dual offices of state senator and postmaster. He took a profound interest in the public schools, and had served as president of the St. Paul Board of Education.

Governor McGill was justly esteemed as a citizen and a man. His affections bound him to his country and to his friends and family. Always kind and considerate of friend or foe, with a personal deportment be-

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yond the reach of criticism, his constant civilities won upon all. Anger and resentment were unknown to him in his conduct of life. He was always, and at all times, and above all, a gentleman. He was truly the gentleman in politics. Modest by nature, he was truly indifferent to publicity and notoriety. Above all, he possessed a spotless character; and character, like gold coin, passes current among all men and in all countries. His private life was pure and sweet, and his friendship a benediction.

The deaths of Andrew Ryan McGill and Horace Austin, in immediate proximity, with the story of their mutual devotion, were indeed dramatic. Death closes all questions and hides all faults; but it is probable that these two friends had as little to cover and conceal as any two public men in the state. Their unexpected departure, the quick severance of all earthly ties, the sudden "loosing of the silver cord," while cruel for friends to bear, I fully believe was in complete accord with the personal desire of each.

Governor McGill was twice married. His first wife was Miss Eliza E. Bryant, daughter of Charles S. Bryant, a lawyer and an author of considerable repute, who wrote the "Indian Massacre in Minnesota," a history of the Sioux War of 1862, which is a valuable work. She was an excellent woman, wife, and mother. She died in 1877. She was survived by two sons and one daughter, as follows: Charles H., born in 1866; Robert C., born in 1869; and Lida B., born in 1874.

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He was again married in 1879 to Miss Mary E. Wilson, a most estimable, accomplished, and highly educated lady. She was a daughter of Dr. J. C. Wilson, a prominent physician of Edinborough, Pa. To this happy union survive two sons, Wilson, born in 1884, and Thomas, born in 1889.

Governor McGill died suddenly on the morning of October 31, 1905, at his residence, 2203 Scudder Avenue, St. Anthony Park, with scarcely a premonition of his end. An affection of the heart, with which he had suffered for years, was the cause of his death. His wish that he might be at home when the end came was gratified.

By order of the governor of the state, the flags on both the old and new capitols were dropped at half-mast, and the governor's office was appropriately draped in black. His funeral rites were very simple, in strict accordance with his own often expressed wish. There were no public services, and the Rev. Samuel G. Smith, pastor of the People's Church, officiated at the family residence. Four men who have been governors of Minnesota were among the honorary pall bearers, namely, Horace Austin, L. F. Hubbard, S. R. Van Sant, and John A. Johnson. Members of Acker Post, G. A. R., attended in a body, as did also the postoffice employees. The interment was at Oakland Cemetery.

Thus passed into the silence of the dead one of Minnesota's most honored and loyal sons, suddenly cut down in the midst of a useful and noble life.

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The inaugural address of Governor McGill to the legislature, January 5, 1887, was published as a pamphlet of 22 pages, and also as pages 41-62 of the Executive Documents of Minnesota for 1886 (St. Paul, 1887). In this message the subject of the liquor traffic received considerable attention, as follows:

You will be called upon at this session to consider measures looking to the further regulation of the liquor business in this State. The people have pronounced in favor of "high license, local option, and the rigid enforcement of the laws relating to the liquor traffic," and now turn to you in the hope and expectation that you will in the form of suitable legislation, give effect to the verdict which they found. Outside of the limited number engaged in the liquor traffic in this State, the people, by a very large majority and without regard to political parties favor the measures proposed. I can see no reason why the desired legislation should not be promptly enacted. It is undoubtedly true that while the question of high license does not properly relate to party politics, it is one of intense interest to the liquor vendors of the State, and in our cities and large towns has become the predominant issue at every election. The liquor interests are organized as a compact power for the avowed purpose of combatting all efforts looking to the further regulation of the liquor traffic. The effect of such an organization in such a case cannot be otherwise than harmful. All questions are made secondary to that of high license, and every man who stands for office—and more particularly a legislative office—is required to pledge himself against it, or stand the brunt of their united opposition, in many cases meaning utter defeat from the outset. In all candor I submit to you if this is not a pernicious influence on the legislation of the State. Two years ago a high license bill was before the legislature, with every prospect of becoming a law, but was finally defeated through the organized efforts of the liquor interests. This organization is much stronger today than it was then, and will no doubt oppose with zeal worthy of a better cause the measures proposed. But I trust this legislature, elected on the issue of "high license and local option," is also stronger on this subject than its predecessor, and that it has the courage and independence to refuse to be bound and controlled by the liquor dealers. I have no word to utter against these men—I am willing to concede that many of them regard the proposed measures as an infringement on their personal rights and liberty, but in the name of that great body of our citizens who believe in

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sobriety, in law and order, and who recognize and deplore the evils traceable to the liquor traffic, I protest against that interest being permitted to dominate the legislation of the State. It is not only your province but your duty to eliminate as far as practicable these evils. It is believed that high license and local option will minimize them. Sharing in this belief, and desiring to keep faith with the people, I recommend the enactment of suitable and efficient legislation to carry the proposed measures into effect.

McGill served as governor only one term, and therefore presented only one biennial message, which was delivered January 9, 1889, and was published as a pamphlet of 40 pages, and also as the first paper in Volume I of the Executive Documents of Minnesota for 1888 (St. Paul, 1889). He recommended the creation of a Pardoning Board as follows:

One of the most exacting of the many duties pertaining to the chief executive office in this state is that growing out of the pardoning power conferred upon the governor by the constitution. That power is complete. He can pardon and turn loose every prisoner in the state if he so wills, and is responsible only to the people of the state for his acts. The wisdom of centering in one person this important prerogative is questioned by many, and by a limited number it is thought the pardoning power should not exist at all. My own judgment is that it should exist, and that its proper lodgment is with the chief executive officer of the state. But I am convinced from a brief experience in its exercise that in justice both to the governor and the applicant for pardon an advisory board of pardons should be created and established by law, to whom all applications for pardon should be referred, and whose duty it should be after due investigation and consideration to pass upon the merits of each application and report their findings and recommendations to the governor for his use and guidance. The applications for pardon in this state are already so numerous, and the duties of the governor so exacting in other directions, that he cannot find the time necessary to give them the careful and patient investigation demanded by the merest considerations of justice. In common fairness to the prisoner, at any rate, this should be done. And to the end that the governor may be relieved as fully as possible from responsibility in exercising the pardoning power, the board should be entirely free, both in its creation and

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tenure of office, from obligations or responsibilities to him. If duly authorized so to do, the chief justice of the supreme court might very appropriately name the members to constitute the board from persons nominated for the positions by the judges of the district courts. It is important that this board, if created, shall be as independent of political influence as possible, and semi-judicial in character. I do not think any state or judicial officer, or any officer connected with any of the prisons of the state, should be eligible to appointment on it. The freer it can be made from political, partisan or outside official influences the better, in my judgment. But these are matters of detail which I shall not discuss. The main thing is the creation of the board, and this I earnestly recommend.

The governor also referred at length to the effects of of the High License laws which had been passed during his administration, saying:

The passage by the last legislature of the act commonly known as the high license law (and related legislation) marked an epoch in temperance reform in Minnesota, and set an example to other states of the Union from which some of them have already profited and others in all probability soon will. There was no subject before the legislature in which the people generally felt so deep an interest, and its consideration therefore attracted the attention of the public in an unusual degree. * * * While no official data have been gathered, information of a character to be relied upon shows a decrease of fully one-third in the number of saloons and an increase of one quarter in the revenue derived from licenses. The consumption of liquor has been lessened and the cause of temperance materially promoted. * * *

Concerning proposed examinations for appointments and promotions in civil service, Governor McGill wrote in this message:

With the growth of the state and increase of public business it becomes all the more important, on grounds of true economy, that new appointments of officers and employees be made solely with reference to their qualifications. The states of New York and Massachusetts have for four years past administered their civil service on non-partisan principles with good results. * * * The examinations are required to be practical in their character and to relate to those matters which will fairly test the relative capacity and fitness of the

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persons examined, to discharge the duties of the service into which they seek to be appointed.

The system thus briefly outlined encountered some prejudice before it was fully understood, but it is now strongly sustained by the sentiment of both political parties in each state named. It would be a distinction for Minnesota to place herself abreast of these enlightened and experienced states on this important subject. Character and high qualifications should be the tests of fitness for public position rather than zeal in party manipulations, or ability to serve the partisan interests of any person or faction. And in a government by the people the highest office in the public service should be open to the honorable ambition of every honest citizen, no matter how humble his position in life.

From 1874 to 1886, inclusive, Mr. McGill, as the Insurance Commissioner of this state, published thirteen annual reports, the third to the fifteenth of that department. They are largely made up of statistics of the fire and life insurance companies doing business in Minnesota, and in size they vary between 300 and 400 pages each.

Under date of July 27, 1883, he published a quarto pamphlet of statistics, 10 pages, entitled "Experience of Thirty-three Insurance Companies in Minnesota for a Period of Ten Years."

June 9, 1886, he gave an address at the Interstate Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, at Lake City, Minn., which was published as a pamphlet of 15 pages.

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ELEVENTH GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

January 9, 1889, to January 4, 1893.

THE Merriams were an influential family in Minnesota, and of honorable descent. They possessed vigor of mind, high social standing, and great business activity. Few families ever became so interwoven with the concerns of the people in so young a state. When we consider all that John L. Merriam (the father), Amherst H. Wilder (the uncle), and their business associates, were to our young commonwealth, and the young governor, William Rush Merriam, to our financial, social and political life, it seems quite incredible that they should all have passed from our vision and disappeared from our affairs, save in history. Yet such is the fate of many of the oldest and formerly most vigorous families of the state. They are perpetuated in history, not in descendants.

In Massachusetts the Adamses, the Lawrences, the Emersons, and the Hawthornes, founded families and perpetuated themselves. In New York the Livingstons, Schuylers, Hamiltons, Jays, Roosevelts, Astors, Vanderbilts, and scores of others, founded families and have

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left continuous tribes, endowed with money and with brains. But many of our early noted and strong men, save in their noble and useful lives, are perpetuated only in names of counties and towns. Possibly the Washburns may prove an exception.

The progenitors of William R. Merriam's family on the paternal side were of Scotch origin; on the maternal side they were French. John L. Merriam, father of the governor, traced his ancestry to that William Merriam who was born at Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1750, and served with the "Minute Men" in the war of the Revolution. He took part in the memorable fight at Concord Bridge, April 19, 1775. He was chairman of the Board of Select Men in Bedford, 1777. He was a prominent and well known citizen. The members of this particular branch of the Merriams located in northern New York. The father of the governor was born in Essex county, in 1828, and in time became a merchant at Wadham's Mills, and was also engaged in the iron trade, as were many others of the family. At one time, 1857, he was the treasurer of the county. His wife, Mahala De Lano, who, as the name indicates, was of French descent, was a woman of many estimable qualities, and strong, vigorous character.

To this excellent couple was born William Rush Merriam, the future governor, July 26, 1849, in Essex county, N. Y., a region of beautiful and picturesque scenery. His birthplace was in a small village, called Wadham's Mills, where there were iron mills and manu-

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facturing industries, and the few citizens were intelligent, industrious, and thrifty.

His middle name, Rush, was for the celebrated Dr. William Rush, of Philadelphia, a family relative, of Revolutionary fame.

When William was but twelve years of age, in 1861, his father removed to Minnesota and settled at once in St. Paul. It was years before the advent of railroads, and in connection with those vigorous pioneers, James C. Burbank, Captain Russell Blakeley, and Colonel Alvaren Allen, he engaged in the stage and transportation business, under the name of the "Minnesota Stage Company." This firm secured all the mail contracts of the Northwest, and, with their passenger and express business, were men of great business affairs. John L. Merriam at once exhibited the pushing, energetic business qualities which made him eminently successful. In 1870 he was elected to the legislature, and again in 1871, and in both sessions he was made Speaker of the House. The son, as events proved, followed the footsteps of his father.

Colonel John L. Merriam was known as one of the most enterprising and valuable citizens, whose unblemished character and fine social qualities gained him the esteem of all.

From the time of the family's arrival in St. Paul till he was fifteen years of age, young William led an uneventful life, and was habitually in attendance at the public schools. In 1864 he was sent to school at Ra-

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cine, Wisconsin, for a course at the Academy. Subsequently he entered Racine College, where in due time he completed the regular college course. He and Governor Davis were the only ones of our governors who were college graduates.

Merriam was held to be a very excellent student at college, and he was exceedingly fond of all athletic sports and diversions. At the close of each college year he stood at the head of his classes, and his average proficiency was so high, that in 1871, in the order of general merit, he was assigned to the high honor of delivering the valedictory address.

He returned home, proud of his collegiate record, and ambitious for duty in the big world of the Northwest. Marking out for himself a business career, he engaged as a clerk in the First National Bank, at a salary of \$50 per month. His work gave great satisfaction to his employers and secured the commendation of the officers of the bank. In 1873, when the Merchants' National Bank of St. Paul was organized, he was elected as its first cashier, although only twenty-four years of age. His promotion was rapid, but his work was good, and his strong family influence did the rest.

In 1880 he was chosen vice president of this bank, and four years later was elected to the presidency, which position he held until he was promoted, in the political world, to the head of the state government. His advancement in commercial circles was regarded as rapid, and some doubted the propriety of his swift elevation.

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Meantime, he took a lively interest in the affairs of the city of St. Paul, whose growth had been contemporaneous with his own. He had inherited from his father Republican principles, and was an active member of that party. He was heartily identified with various Republican clubs, and his active interest in political matters caused him to be regarded as one of the leading young Republicans of the state. In 1882 he was nominated by his party and elected from the Twenty-seventh District to the Legislature of 1883. He was appointed a member of the Committee on Finance and Banks, and was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. He was, as yet, considered but a tyro in political affairs.

During this session of the legislature, there occurred a bitter fight in the election of a United States senator, when the Hon. William Windom was defeated, and Dwight M. Sabin succeeded him. Young Merriam was an ardent supporter of Sabin. The limitations of this sketch do not admit of a discussion of the causes which led to the defeat of Mr. Windom; but it has long been admitted that the state made a serious mistake in dispensing with the services of so capable and faithful a public servant as Senator Windom had proven himself to be.

In 1886 Mr. Merriam was again elected to the legislature from St. Paul. On the assembling of that body he was nominated and duly chosen, as his father had been sixteen years before, Speaker of the House. His

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career in that elevated position was considered as generally commendable.

Ignatius Donnelly, for the time acting with the Republicans, may be truly said to have given Merriam his real start in political life. The farmers did not suffer at the hands of the young Speaker, for Donnelly, representing the Farmers' Alliance, supported Merriam. At the end of the session, Merriam received the full endorsement of the House for his administration of the important functions of his high office, and for the fair and generous treatment he accorded to friends and political foes alike. As a presiding officer over the popular branch of the legislature, a position requiring intelligence, address, and promptness, his decisions were uniformly fair, and his course commendable. In making up the committees, it was distinctly noticeable that he gave the farmers a very liberal share.

In 1886 he was chosen vice president of the State Agricultural Society, and in 1887 he was elected president of that body, and his marked executive ability made his administration a decided success.

September 5 and 6, 1888, the regular Republican convention for the purpose of nominating state officers was held in St. Paul. The Hon. A. R. McGill, then governor, was a candidate to succeed himself. By an unwritten political law, his administration having been clean and honorable, he was entitled to the endorsement of a second term. He had been in his first campaign the champion of high license, which the Republican party

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had made the issue. On this issue McGill had been elected, though with a reduced majority. He urged high license in his message to the legislature, and in every way he was identified with the measure.

Others ambitious of gubernatorial honors thought they saw a weakness in McGill's position, and stood ready to sacrifice the champion of high license on the altar of their ambition.

Albert Scheffer, of St. Paul, Charles A. Gilman, of St. Cloud, and William R. Merriam, of St. Paul, were the contestants of Governor McGill. This contest proved to be very bitter in the way it was waged. The attacks on Governor McGill were exceedingly ungenerous and unfair, for in every way he had been an acceptable official and was personally without reproach.

William R. Merriam was young and could afford to bide his time and be generous. Had he done so, he would undoubtedly have been the nominee two years later, without controversy and perhaps without opposition, and it would have left him without heartaches and grievances which probably materially barred his future political success.

There were vigorous and trenchant comments on the character and conduct of the convention, and upon the political integrity of some of the members; and many of the Republican papers of the state were unusually severe upon methods which, it was alleged, characterized the proceedings. But these matters, doubtless

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exaggerated, have passed into forgetfulness, and there is no occasion to revive them now.

It was the rural districts which gave Merriam his nomination, for he always stood well with the farmers. There were four formal ballots, and on the fourth the ex-Speaker was nominated, receiving 270 out of 448 votes, 225 being necessary to a choice. He had made a vigorous canvass and maintained his hold on the rural masses. His Democratic opponent was Hon. Eugene M. Wilson, of Minneapolis, an able lawyer, a man of great personal popularity, and once a member of Congress. The only other nominee was Hugh Harrison, Prohibitionist. Merriam was elected by a majority of 24,104 over Wilson, who received 110,257 votes, while Harrison received 17,026, and Merriam 134,355. His general administration as governor was quite satisfactory to his party, and his renomination followed, in 1890, with less opposition.

The Democrats in 1890 ran against him the Hon. Thomas Wilson, of Winona, once a member of the Supreme Bench of the state, and a gentleman of fine culture, marked ability, and well known throughout the state. The situation was, however, essentially different from the former contest. The Farmers' Alliance movement had gained cohesion and was now at the height of its power, and it presented a candidate of its own in the person of S. M. Owen, editor of the *Farm, Stock and Home*, an agricultural journal, a resident of Minneapolis. The tri-party election was close, the Republicans suffering severe loss. Merriam received 88,111 votes;

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Wilson, 85,844; and Owen, 58,513. James P. Pinkham also ran as a Prohibitionist, and received 8,424 votes. Merriam's plurality over his leading opponent was 2,267. Merriam thus became a minority governor, and it was the second instance, since the organization of the state, in which the Republican candidate had not received a majority over all competitors.

Governor Merriam's career as chief executive was marked by an intelligent conception of the important duties and responsibilities of the office. His messages, during the four years, are excellent state papers, vigorous, clear and comprehensive. His recommendations were all practical and well received by the legislature and by the people also. He evidently had at heart the general welfare, was proud of his state, and indulged high hopes of its splendid future. The public business was transacted with a promptness characteristic of a business man. When it is remembered that he was, in years, next to the youngest governor in the Union, and the youngest this state has ever had, we can take pride in the good judgment and sound discretion which characterized his administration.

During his incumbency of the office, several important measures were passed; among others, the election law based on the Australian system, the law for leasing the iron ore lands belonging to the state school fund, and for refunding the state debt at a lower rate of interest.

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As a citizen of St. Paul, Merriam was regarded as one of its worthiest and most valuable men. He took an active part in all its local concerns. He was president of the Merchants' National Bank; a member of the Chamber of Commerce; treasurer of the Board of Education; a vestryman of St. Paul's church; and was largely connected and interested in various local business enterprises.

He was always concerned in agricultural matters. He was vice president of the State Agricultural Society in 1886, and in 1887 and 1888 was its president. His management brought success and prosperity to the Society. His active temperament made him fond of athletic sports and diversions, and he was the first president of the Minnesota Boat Club. He was ever an admirer and owner of good horses. It is a more intelligent passion to love a good horse than an automobile.

It is very difficult in a work of this sort to fully consider the conduct and merits of living men, and to give them their proper place in history. To the living it is like reading their own obituaries. But one can obtain many interesting opinions of one's life by reading contemporaneous journals, especially those of the opposition. It is not always necessary to wait till the undertaker has, with grim joy, arranged the flowers and decorated the casket, to find something of the final estimate of a public man. Pre-obituaries are constantly being written by enthusiastic journalists, who so often handle public men with ungracious confidence and merciless

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method. Somewhere midway between the extravagant eulogies of a partisan press and the frailties and faults discovered by unfriendly journals, there is a line of justice and truth. It is the manifest duty of the non-partisan biographer to follow the intervening course. As Ovid well says, "*Medio tutissimus ibis.*"

From the beginning of his career Governor Merriam very much coveted the honors and exhilarations of politics. That he never achieved his most ambitious desires, is due chiefly to his unwillingness to wait with patience and bide his time. The machinations of his friends to set aside a predecessor, Governor McGill, without sufficient cause, were plainly ungenerous, and the more so when the aspirant was possessed of youth and health and could await his turn, which surely would have come without contention or injustice. The result of this impatience left behind it sores which were never healed, and which presented obstacles to all his future aspirations. The concensus of opinion is now that the setting aside of McGill for a second term was a tactical mistake for the party and all concerned in it, being a blemish on the fair dealing which so generally characterized the Republican party in the state. It is not the purpose of historical composition simply to eulogize men and carry them on to posterity with garlands of flowers, but to tell the truth, to the end that the youth of the state be forewarned, and that every public life be made a teacher of political wisdom.

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The parts which fell to Governor Merriam in the drama of political life were always important and often conspicuous. In 1896, together with Governor L. F. Hubbard, Robert G. Evans, and George Thompson, he was sent as one of the delegates to the National Republican Convention which nominated William McKinley for President. The great contest in that convention was what was termed the "Battle of the Standards." The scheming and contention pending the adoption of the platform was sharp, and results were very uncertain. Many prominent Republicans were "weak-kneed" on the question of sound money. Even William McKinley was in doubt as to the best policy. While Senator Hanna was sound in his personal views, he was in serious doubt as to the policy of the party. "Free Silver" was then in its "run of fever." It really appeared at one time that the committee on resolutions would report a mongrel plank, which would admit of a bi-metallic construction and thus "straddle" the question.

The Minnesota delegation was decidedly for the gold standard. Governor Merriam had been designated as the member of the committee on resolutions, and he was especially instructed by his delegation to vote for a gold standard. But he was known to be largely under the influence of Senator Hanna, whose final action was yet in doubt. So the delegation riveted Minnesota's position to the gold standard by positive instructions. This was strictly in accord with previous instructions by the Republican State Convention. Merriam, as a banker, was

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surely personally in favor of sound money; but the delegation took no chances, and sealed their position by instructions. This was Minnesota's part in the adoption of the gold standard in the national platform of 1896.

It is the general belief of our ablest politicians that Mr. McKinley's election would not have followed had not the gold standard been unequivocally adopted. After his election, a wave of confidence swept over the country, as a consequence of the adoption of the gold standard, which resulted in continuous and unparalleled prosperity such as never before was the happy lot of any people. It is proper to remark that Governor Merriam was selected as one of the sub-committee to prepare the platform, and did good work on that important document. His influence counted strongly in favor of sound money, which at once became the shibboleth of the party.

In 1893, when the late Senator Davis was a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate, it is of record that he came near being defeated. Among those who opposed Davis' re-election, even after his nomination by a Republican caucus, was Governor Merriam, who was himself a contingent candidate for the place, for which he received two votes. In the final vote Davis received eighty-five votes, the exact number necessary to a choice. It will thus be seen that his danger was imminent. It was claimed by Senator Davis and his friends that he was greatly embarrassed in his canvass by the action of Governor Merriam, and they charged him with being the head of the conspiracy for the defeat of Davis.

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A coolness naturally followed between these two prominent men, and thenceforth their political friendship ceased.

This alienation proved unfortunate for Governor Merriam. Senator Davis, by his ability, culture, and the sum of many distinguishing qualities, had now advanced to the very highest position in the Senate and in the councils of his party. His influence had become potent. In the course of events during the administration of President McKinley, it came to pass that Governor Merriam, or his friends, was anxious to have him nominated for a first-class position abroad, and even urged him for a seat in the Cabinet. The embassy to Austria was named as the first, and the Interior Department as the latter. But though Governor Merriam, as it was understood, was strongly favored by so powerful a senator as Marcus Hanna, yet Senator Davis was potent enough to prevent either of these appointments from being made. But resentment will not always abide in a great and generous heart. A partial reconciliation took place between these two noted men, as subsequent events proved.

Fortunate, indeed, was it for the government and the country, when Governor Merriam was appointed Director of the Census by President McKinley, March 7, 1899. He was promptly confirmed by the assent of Minnesota's great senator. His special fitness for this important work was demonstrated by his complete success in the administration of the office. It was here that Governor Merriam did the best work of his public

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life. Dr. S. N. D. North, Merriam's successor in the office and the present Director of the Census, has kindly furnished me with a favorable notice of Governor Merriam's work in that difficult Bureau, and I have no hesitation in using this just tribute to a competent and vigorous official, with thanks to Dr. North:

The law for the taking of the Twelfth Federal Census had been approved March 3 prior. This law provided that the census should be taken as of June 1, the following year. The governor was thus given a period of twelve months only, in which to organize a work which, apart from wars, is the most gigantic and the most difficult undertaken by the government. He organized it out of nothing, in the nature of things, because the machinery under which the Eleventh Census was taken had entirely disappeared. There was at first some criticism of the appointment of Governor Merriam, on the ground that he was not a statistician, and could not therefore produce a scientific and satisfactory census. It was President McKinley's theory, in appointing him that the census had grown to be so large an undertaking, by reason of the tremendous growth of the country, that business experience rather than expert knowledge had come to be the prime factor in its successful outcome. The result completely justified his judgment. Governor Merriam immediately drew about him, in the important positions of chief statisticians in charge of the five great branches of decennial census work, the five men who were recognized as knowing more from study and experience about the best method of handling the work in each of these branches, than any one else in the country. He told these men, when he appointed them, that he would hold them individually responsible for their work; that he would not interfere with them, except to see that everything was done in proper business ways. The result was extraordinary, when judged by our previous census experiences. The Twelfth Census was not only the best census ever compiled in the United States, from the point of view of accuracy and comprehensiveness, but it was also the most economical, tested on the per capita basis, and what is even more important, the most expeditious in the publication of the results.

The census law required that these results must be made public within two years from the date of the enumeration. This was actually accomplished; and it was due to the business energy which Governor Merriam brought to the work, and with which he inspired all his subordinates and of which he set the daily example.

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One other remarkable achievement distinguished Governor Merriam's administration of the Census Office. It is to his effort and influence chiefly that the country is indebted for the establishment of the permanent Census Office. The movement for such a law was started more than thirty years ago. It had the earnest support, during this entire period, of practically all the teachers and students of economics, sociology, and statistics; but it made no headway. Bill after bill was introduced in Congress and pigeonholed in committee. Early in his administration, Governor Merriam became convinced that a permanent statistical bureau, always available for the compilation of any statistics that might be wanted, as the basis of intelligent legislation by Congress, was a prime requisite of the government. He turned his energies to the accomplishment of this end before he had completed the reports of the Twelfth Census. The first bill introduced to establish the permanent census was defeated in the House. Undismayed, Governor Merriam kept at it; and finally, on March 6, 1902, he had the satisfaction of witnessing the President's signature to the law under which the bureau he had organized so carefully and successfully was made permanent. It was Governor Merriam's personality which made this result possible. A practical politician himself, he knew how to enlist the support of practical politicians who comprise the rank and file of both Houses of Congress. He marshaled all his resources to accomplish a result which appealed to him as vital to the full development of governmental statistical science; and he succeeded when a scientific statistician, in the position he occupied, would most certainly have failed. And so it happens that this great science of statistics,—as yet largely undeveloped and capable of infinite improvement,—owes more, in the matter of its future advance in the United States, to this business man, untrained in statistics, than to all the statisticians combined. That he was wholly disinterested in his attitude Governor Merriam proved by resigning the Directorship very shortly to re-enter business life.

For the reasons above stated, future commentators will be compelled to agree that the science of governmental statistics in the United States owes more to Director Merriam than to any of his predecessors in charge of the decennial census.

In 1903 Governor Merriam resigned from the Census office to take an active part in the management of a large corporation, and at this time he is president of two corporations with his headquarters in the city of Washington, where, with his family, he now resides.

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Whether Governor Merriam purposes to retire from active politics, we are not fully advised. When a man of energetic persistency abandons a long cherished purpose and bows to the force of public sentiment and to the logic of events, he is entitled to great credit. Having left this state, and again entered into large business connections, he has made it quite impracticable to re-enter the political arena in Minnesota, where new combinations have been formed and new dispositions effectually made. Governor Merriam is yet in the prime of active manhood, being but fifty-eight years of age, and mentally and physically in vigorous form.

To those who have followed the career of William Rush Merriam, there is much that is interesting and dramatic. The first of our governors reared upon our soil, the youngest in years, his character formed by a purely Minnesota environment, he came upon the stage as the representative of the young Republicans of Minnesota. Well born, with intellectual capacity, finely educated, ambitious and full of energy, he aspired to greater things than he ever achieved. His besetting hindrance was his constant impatience. He was too eager in his ambitions, and, in the excitement of contest and heat of battle, not always prudent and above criticism in their promotion. He was not satisfied with a life spent in the dubious routine of the commercial world, hence he leaped into politics as a stimulant and feeder of his ambition. Born at an earlier period, in obedience to the "Call" of blood, he might have successfully followed Sherman to

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the sea, or Grant to Vicksburg, in satisfaction of his restless energy, as well as from patriotic motives.

Mr. Merriam was married at St. Paul, October 2, 1872, to Miss Laura E. Hancock, a most estimable and cultivated woman, daughter of Colonel John Hancock, of Washington City, and niece of the celebrated General Winfield Scott Hancock of the Union army.

Col. John Hancock was adjutant on his brother's staff during the war. It was in that capacity that he carried a despatch to Gen. Meade after General Hancock was wounded, urging him to follow Lee after the fight at Gettysburg. Had Meade followed this advice and pushed his advantages, the war might have practically ended then and there.

Mrs. Merriam's mother was a direct descendant of John Adams, of Massachusetts. She was born in the city of Philadelphia. She was of a fine lineage, highly cultured, and especially well qualified for the duties of the best society.

The Governor had erected a goodly mansion on what was called "Merriam Hill," a sightly spot, overlooking the city of St. Paul. Here his admirable wife dispensed the most elegant hospitality, and made the home the center not only of a brilliant social circle, but of a happy family. Unfortunately, this mansion was totally destroyed by fire in 1896, and was never rebuilt.

To this marriage there were born five children: John Hancock Merriam, July 16, 1874; Mabel de Lano

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July 31, 1876; William Hancock, May 5, 1878; Amherst Wilder, January 31, 1888, deceased; and Laura Beatrice, February 15, 1892.

The inaugural address of Governor Merriam, January 9, 1889, was published as a pamphlet of 24 pages, and as the second paper (pages 41-64) in Volume I of the Executive Documents of Minnesota for 1888 (St. Paul, 1889). In this address he said, in part:

The highest obligation devolving upon citizens is to carefully and loyally serve their state or country. To be called upon by our fellow men to make or administer their laws, or to be selected as the guardian of some one of the many public trusts, should be esteemed a high honor.

More especially is this true in a government like our own, founded upon republican principles, and maintained by the popular voice; and yet in the midst of the active and busy life that is the lot of most of us, we are too apt to overlook our duty to the state, and to leave to others the care and management of its affairs.

Among these public trusts and duties none more honorable, or more important, can be imposed upon a citizen by his fellows than to intrust him with the enactment of laws for the protection of life and property, for guarding the unfortunate, and for defending the weak as against the strong.

* * * * *

Economy in the disbursement of the public funds is no less important and necessary to the welfare and prosperity of the state than is the fidelity and integrity of those to whom is committed the trust of caring for its revenues.

* * * * *

No state in the Union possesses more economical, thrifty and law abiding citizens than does Minnesota, and as their representatives, it will undoubtedly be your desires, as it is clearly your duty, to guard the public fund, and to see that no unnecessary or useless expenditure is made of the money which, for the most part, represents the tribute paid by honest toil for the common good.

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January 14, 1891, Governor Merriam delivered his biennial message to the twenty-seventh legislature. It was published as a pamphlet of 18 pages, and also as pages 33-50 of Volume I, Executive Documents of Minnesota for 1890 (Minneapolis, 1891).

His second and last biennial message, delivered to the Legislature on January 4, 1893, was published as the first paper (pages 19-31) in the first volume of the Executive Documents for 1892 (Minneapolis, 1893), and also as a separate pamphlet of 13 pages. In this message he said, referring to the need of a new capitol building:

The last legislature selected a commission to inquire into the desirability of selecting a site upon which to place a new building for the use of the state officers. In my judgment, the time has now arrived, in view of the present crowded condition of our capitol building, to seriously contemplate the necessity of providing for the future uses of the executive officers of the State. The present structure is entirely inadequate for the needs of the officials charged with the performance of the public duties of various kinds, and as some years would necessarily elapse before a new building could be completed, it would be well to provide during the present session for the future uses of the State in this regard. * * * The building would necessarily be designed with a view to the future growth of the State, and to that end could be constructed with the purpose of having it ready for use eight or ten years hence. The amount collected year by year would be so small as to be hardly felt by the taxpayers, and by the time the building was an absolute necessity we should be possessed of a handsome edifice entirely proportionate to the importance of the State. I sincerely commend to you the desirability of prompt consideration and action upon this subject.

An address by Governor Merriam before the State Farmers' Alliance at its annual meeting in St. Paul, March 4, 1890, was published as a pamphlet of thirteen pages, including reprints (pages 9-13) of editorial arti-

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cles, commenting on this address, from the St. Paul Pioneer Press and the Minneapolis Journal.

An article entitled "The Currency of the Future," suggesting modifications of the national banking system, published by Governor Merriam in the Chicago Inter-Ocean, was reprinted at St. Paul under the date of March 17, 1892, in a pamphlet of fifteen pages, of which the last five pages are press comments of St. Paul and Minneapolis newspapers. This article was also reprinted in Rhodes' Journal of Banking for September, 1892 (pages 1015-1020).

As the director of the Twelfth Census of the United States, taken in the year 1900, Governor Merriam published its large series of Bulletins and Reports, comprising eighteen quarto volumes, issued at Washington in the years 1900 to 1903.

During the same years and in connection with this great work, he contributed the following articles in magazines:

The Census of 1900; in the North American Review, volume 170, pages 99-108, January, 1900.

Taking of the Census; in the Independent, vol. 52, pp. 1235-6, May 24, 1900.

Suffrage, North and South; in the Forum, vol. 32, pp. 460-5, December, 1901.

Need of a Permanent Census Office; North American Review, vol. 174, pp. 105-112, January, 1902.

"Trusts" in the Light of Census Returns; Atlantic Monthly, vol. 89, pp. 332-9, March, 1902.

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Evolution of American Census-Taking; Century Magazine, vol. 65, pp. 831-42, April, 1903.

Noteworthy Results of the Twelfth Census; Century Magazine, vol. 66, pp. 712-23, September, 1903.

The Census in Foreign Countries; Century Magazine, vol. 66, pp. 879-86, October, 1903.



RUFUS NELSON.

K N U T E N E L S O N

Twelfth Governor of the State of Minnesota, was born at Vosse Elven, Norway, February 2, 1843, and is still living. He came to the United States when six years old; served in the Civil War; and afterward became a lawyer. Since 1871 his home has been upon a farm at Alexandria, Minn. He was governor from January 4, 1893, to January 31, 1895, and has since been a United States senator.

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TWELFTH GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

January 4, 1893, to January 31, 1895.

THE frozen North has contributed of the vigor of its Scandinavian blood to enrich that of the Saxon race in the United States, especially in the Northwest. In that brotherhood of virile races which blend in America to its advantage, the Norseman is in a high degree conspicuous. Every billow in the great North Sea has rocked men, as in a cradle, who were destined to come to America. And truly, the immigrant from the land of Bjornson, Ibsen, Kielland, Welhaven, Eriesson, and Ole Bull, has been gladly welcomed to our shores. His desirability as an immigrant is unquestioned. He comes here to settle permanently, and not to hoard his savings and return to spend them in his native land. His good moral character, his honest way of doing things, his frugal habits, commend him as a worthy citizen. "Yon Yonson" comes as determined to stay as did the Pilgrim Fathers. The second generation is as thoroughly American as the rest of us, so rapidly do they assimilate. Soon their blood will be

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as fully infused with ours as that of the Knickerbockers of New York or of the Cavaliers of Virginia.¹

Of the Norsemen, Minnesota has received its share. We had in 1905 in the state 237,894 Swedes and Norwegians; of these 111,611 are from Norway. The city of Minneapolis, alone, has a Scandinavian population (1905) of 42,418. It is within the easy memory of many of us, when Germany furnished the heaviest portion of our foreign population. But she has (in 1905) but 119,868, as compared with the Scandinavian immigration noted above. This numerical strength carries with it the element of political power, which, if not always judiciously, has been pretty extensively exercised.

Knut Nelson was born February 2, 1843, on the rugged coast of Norway, near the "Whirlpool," as given in the geographies of our childhood. He was the only son and child of a poor farmer, who lived at the Vosse Elven, a place located between the glassy fjords and the storm swept mountains, a little margin of land next to the sea.

His father owned the soil he tilled. When not engaged on the farm, he was a sailor on the sea. The Norwegians of the coast took to the water like ducks, and sea enterprises were the natural order of things. When the writer pushed the Senator as to his early

¹It is appropriate to observe that from the ranks of Scandinavian immigrants, anarchists, paupers, tramps, and peace disturbers, are never recruited. In intent and purpose, in spirit and effort, they do not fail in making good and patriotic American citizens.

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progenitors, he replied, "Don't pursue my genealogical lines too far, or you may run into the roughest nest of pirates that ever infested the North Sea. I am not so much concerned as to what my grandfather was as to what my grandson will be." He knows but little about his family centuries back, but is solicitous as to their future in the free land to which they have been transplanted for the centuries to come.

His father died when Knute was an infant. His widowed mother gathered together her scanty means, and with her boy of six years came to America, following a brother who had come before her. For a year or more she supported herself and boy by hard work in the City of Chicago, and there the youthful son did his first work in selling newspapers on the street. She removed to Dane county, Wisconsin, not far from the city of Madison, where by hard work and great frugality she supported herself and child on a small farm. On this sandy farm young Nelson grew to manhood. Through all his boyhood and youth they were poor, and in the hayfield and the harvest he aided in the support of his mother. He had a hard road to travel, but he had inherited a good constitution and indomitable perseverance. It is veracious history to say that Knute Nelson was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth.

One Mary Dillon, who taught the district school, gave his life perhaps its definite direction. She was a cultivated woman, and became much interested in the humble fortunes of the boy's family. She urged him

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to educate himself, and told him he might become a distinguished man. "You can't be President," she said, "for you were not born in this country; but you can be a United States Senator." The good woman did not live to see the fulfillment of her prophecy.

From this time he studied with keen interest the lives of such successful men as he could obtain. In the pursuit of an education he journeyed in an ox cart of home construction, the wheels of which were sections of a big log, to the little village academy from which he was finally graduated. In this cart was a large wooden chest which they had brought from Norway containing his scanty wardrobe and provisions to last him for half the term. He did his own cooking and lived with great simplicity. He bore the slights and ridicule of his fellow students with patience and good humor.

At eighteen years old he was thoroughly an American in heart and sympathy. This country was his country. With the consent of his widowed mother, on the second of July, 1861, he enlisted as a private in Company B, Fourth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, which regiment was changed to the Fourth Wisconsin Cavalry within the year. From Racine, Wis., the regiment was ordered to Washington, D. C., where, after a short detention, on February 16, 1862, it was ordered to join General Butler's Gulf Expedition, at Ship Island. He was present with the regiment at the capture of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, and at the taking of the city of New Orleans on the thirtieth of April, 1862.

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He was in the expedition up the river against Vicksburg and was in the battles of Baton Rouge, Camp Bisland, Franklin, and the sharp engagements at Opelousas.

At the siege of Fort Hudson, on the fourteenth of June, 1863, his regiment led the desperate charge against the rebel works. It was in this charge that young Nelson fell, severely wounded in the thigh. He lay on the field, exposed to the fire of both friend and foe, till night ended the combat, when the rebels sallied out and made him and others prisoners. He remained a prisoner till Fort Hudson surrendered, July 9, 1863. Mule meat, corn cake, and sassafras tea, were the rations of the wounded boy. He was two months in the hospital before he rejoined his regiment. After months of contests with guerrillas and bushwhackers, his term of enlistment having expired, and being much broken in health from the effect of his wound and hardships, he was mustered out July 13, 1864, and returned to his home in Wisconsin. In his company and regiment his reputation was that of a brave soldier, modest and unassuming, but manly in his bearing. One of his comrades declares that he did not have an enemy in the regiment. With true filial love and loyalty he sent his soldier's pay to his widowed mother, and when he returned he found the good mother had saved it all to aid him in his academic course.

He re-entered the academy at Albion, and finished his course in the class of 1865. In the autumn of that year he entered the law office of Colonel William F. Vilas,

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of Madison, Wisconsin, and read law till he was admitted to the bar in the fall of 1867. Colonel Vilas on frequent occasions expressed his admiration for the industry with which he pursued his professional studies, notwithstanding the privations attendant upon poverty, and was not at all surprised at Nelson's future success and achievements.

He opened a law office in Madison, and soon established a good reputation as a young lawyer of promise. In 1867 he was elected a member of the legislature from Dane county, which includes the city of Madison. He made some reputation as a debater.

For some time he entertained the idea of seeking a new home, and in July, 1871, he came to the frontier town of Alexandria, in Douglas county, Minnesota, and took up a "homestead," adjoining the townsite of Alexandria. Here, with his own hands, he opened a farm and diligently cultivated the soil. On this homestead he resides to this day.

This is the only instance in which a public man, reaching so elevated a position in the nation, has taken a homestead claim in his early manhood, continuously abiding thereon, making it his permanent home during all the years of struggle and battle, till he became a distinguished senator of the United States. Surely such a home must be dear to his heart, and it is today his place of refuge and rest when he can escape from the press of his public duties. It is far more dear to

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him than Marshfield was to Webster, or Ashland to Clay.

Having opened a law office in Alexandria, in 1872, he was elected county attorney of Douglas county, in which capacity he served three years. In 1874 he was elected to the state senate, and he gave such satisfaction that he was re-nominated by acclamation, and was elected without opposition. He served on the two most important committees of the senate, the judiciary and the railroad. He was pitted by his party against Ignatius Donnelly, and was able to meet that pugnacious senator at every point. His service in securing legislation by which the St. Paul and Pacific (now the Great Northern) railway was built, on the lines it now holds, was greatly to the permanent benefit of the state.

In 1882 he was elected to a seat in Congress, being the first member of that body from Northern Minnesota. The most exciting, the most dramatic political convention ever held in the state was the one at Detroit, in Becker county, July 12, 1882, being the first convention in a new congressional district, the Fifth, which was a monster territory, containing twenty-eight counties. Knute Nelson and Charles F. Kindred were the principal candidates for Congress. It is impossible at this distant day to appreciate the intense interest which was aroused by conditions presented. Hon. Charles A. Gilman, of St. Cloud, and Hon. C. H. Graves, of Duluth, were also candidates. But as the campaign developed, all interest centered about the two former.

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Mr. Kindred for several years was the chief clerk of the land department of the Northern Pacific railroad. It was charged that he had used the opportunities offered by that office to enrich himself at the expense of the settlers and the company. The mode and manner by which he conducted his frauds were distinctly set forth in charges preferred by the company, published in the *Pioneer Press* and *Minneapolis Tribune*, August 2, 1882. To these charges Mr. Kindred made no public denial. A special committee of the company was appointed to investigate the charges, and this committee found Mr. Kindred guilty, and recommended his dismissal, which was done. But he had accumulated great wealth, for that time, out of his alleged corrupt practices, and he proposed to make a vigorous financial campaign for Congress. He opened "his barrel," and the district was speedily overrun with brass bands, torch-light processions, and all the machinery of political warfare. Newspapers were subsidized, and new ones were established. "Regularity" in county conventions counted for nothing, all fairness was at an end, and double delegates appeared from a large number of counties.

When the convention assembled, pandemonium was let loose. The convention split into a double-header from the very start; the stage was the scene of the wildest disorder, and personal encounters followed. Two conventions were the immediate result, and both men were then nominated by their respective followers.

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The question as to which was the "regular" convention was the great controversy throughout the campaign. The Republican state committee was finally appealed to, and that body decided that Nelson was the "regular" nominee. The canvass which followed was intensely personal and exciting, and from July until November the battle raged. Conservative estimates placed Mr. Kindred's expenditures during the campaign at \$150,000, a large sum of money for that period. No charges were preferred against Mr. Nelson, and his personal and political record was not impugned. Mr. Kindred was surely the most liberal and energetic political plunger yet seen in the West. Nelson was elected in November, the vote standing, Nelson, 16,956; Kindred, 12,238. E. P. Barnum, the Democratic nominee, received 6,248 votes. Thus ended the most bitter and heated political contest the state ever had, but out of it Knute Nelson came with increasing prestige and promise for future advancement. Kindred is now a resident of Philadelphia, where by successful speculations he is said to have recouped his fortunes. If the charges against him were true, he paid dearly for his venture in the uncertain sea of politics.

Nelson served by re-elections in the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, and Fiftieth congresses. The House of Representatives, during the time he was a member, was Democratic, and, being a Republican, his influence was not great. He was a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs. The most important legislation, while he

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was a member of the House, with which he was connected, was what is commonly known and designated in the Interior Department and in the courts as the "Nelson Law," an act for the "Relief and Civilization of the Chippewa Indians in Minnesota." This legislation resulted in the cession of all their lands, except the White Earth and Red Lake Reservations, and in the adjustment of all their difficulties.

Nelson took a very active part in securing the passage of the original "Inter-State Commerce" law. He also voted for the Morrison and Mills tariff measures, which indicate his conviction as to the importance of a reduction of existing schedules, a position he has steadily maintained.

In 1892 Knute Nelson, having declined a renomination to Congress, received the high compliment of a unanimous nomination for governor of the state, by the Republican convention. This body met in St. Paul, July 28, 1892, with 709 delegates in attendance. One or two others had been mentioned as being probable candidates, but before the convention met they withdrew. This left Nelson without a competitor, the only instance of the kind in the history of that party in the state, except in the case of renominations. The Democrats nominated the Hon. Daniel W. Lawler, an able lawyer and eminent in the councils of his party. The People's Party nominated the Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, a versatile politician, but singularly gifted. Hon. William J. Dean was also nominated by the Prohibi-

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tionists. Nelson received 109,220 votes; Lawler, 94,600; Donnelly, 39,862; and Dean, 12,239. This gave Nelson 14,620 plurality over Lawler.

In 1894 Governor Nelson was re-nominated by acclamation. Hon. George L. Becker was nominated by the Democrats, and Sidney M. Owen by the Populists. Nelson received 147,943 votes; Becker, 53,584; Owen, 87,890; and Hans S. Hilleboe (Prohibitionist), 6,832. Nelson lacked only 182 votes of obtaining a majority over all his competitors. The People's Party, however, was forging to the front, out-voting the Democrats by a decisive plurality. This was the largest vote ever polled in the state up to that time.

A digression may be here permitted, to speak somewhat fully of Ignatius Donnelly, who headed the Populist party in the campaign of 1892. This fickle and ingenious politician had now assumed a new role. He was the candidate of the Populists and endorsed by many Democrats, and his candidacy assumed an imposing appearance. He made the canvass of the state with a vigor that was amazing and that threatened success. But there was a want of confidence in his sincerity. The crowd shouted at his ready wit and his incomparable stories, but they went away and voted for the other man. The rugged honesty of Nelson was too much for him, and he was defeated by a large majority.

Hon. Ignatius Donnelly was born in Philadelphia of full-blooded Irish parents. He was well educated in

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that city. He early floated out to the West, and anchored at Nininger, Minnesota. A lawyer by profession, he devoted himself to farming, politics, journalism, and general literature.

He was twice lieutenant governor, and three times was elected to Congress. He was impatient for political preferment. If he had possessed the patience of C. K. Davis, who waited twelve years, and had been loyal to his party, he would have undoubtedly achieved the United States Senate, which was the goal of his ambition. He worked in the Republican vineyard, when he deemed it profitable; then in the Democratic; then again in that of the Populists,—but always in Donnelly's plantation. He will be long remembered as the most meteoric of our political figures, a bewildering shooting star, whose orbit was a guess.

As an orator, Donnelly was the darling of the crowd, sparkling, wayward, and incalculable. He seemed to possess the whole wide gamut of expression and emotion. His talent for attractive public speaking surely was not equalled by any of his contemporaries. Attractive as he was in politics, he founded no school and never inaugurated a single policy. He was a destructive and not a constructive politician. He seemed to delight in smashing things for personal gain or notoriety. He played more to the galleries than to the common sense of the people. He possessed a warm imagination, a dramatic style, powerful invective, brilliant wit and humor. He so often drew upon his imagination for his

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facts that the public lost general confidence in his statements. He is pathetically remembered by many of us for what he could have done but failed to accomplish. In politics he was the chief mourner at his own funeral.

As a journalist, he was proprietor and editor of the "Anti-Monopolist," a paper abounding with his idiosyncrasies, and flashing with pungent editorials. He used this weapon to attack his foes, rather than to establish sound public policies. His Parthian arrows flew in every direction. In due time this personal organ died.

Besides his amateur farming, he possessed a thousand productive acres which he diligently plowed and sowed in his elegant library.

His literary work was enormous. He could have become a grand literary luminary, had he wholly devoted his genius to his polished quill. It is the encomium of Donnelly that his general style was the best of any of our state writers, except it be Davis. His *chef d'oeuvre* is "Atlantis." He fairly proves that Plato's story of a lost island is not a fable but veritable history. The great Gladstone, in a personal autograph letter which I have read, said he believed that Donnelly had demonstrated his proposition. This book, the highest testimony of his genius, will be read by students and scholars for years to come. "Caesar's Column" is a remarkable novel, having charms and invention of a high order, and is yet read and will long survive on its merits. "Ragnarok" is the wild vagary of an imaginative but unscientific man.

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But the work into which he flung his whole soul and strength was "The Great Cryptogram," in which he claimed to demonstrate that he had found in the Shakespearean dramas a cipher proving that Bacon was their real author. These sibylline utterances are the very salt of Donnelly's erratic mind. This book, long expected, however consummate the ingenuity shown, and though he has piled, like a Titan, Pelion on Ossa, was an utter failure, and the world has willingly let it die. That which he proudly proclaimed as the monument of his profundity and genius, has proven the cenotaph of his literary reputation. Although many able students believe that Francis Bacon was the author of the dramas and other works ascribed to Shakespeare, none probably would seek further to establish that theory by discovering cipher readings in those highest masterpieces of all literature.

Donnelly's life, which early gave so much promise, was the failure of an unfulfilled career. He was baffled in all his great ambitions. It is true, however, that he was one of the first to fight trusts, combines, and special privileges, against which a determined war has now become the policy of both the great parties.

With all his utopian vagaries, we loved Donnelly. There was much in him to love and admire. He was genial, warm-hearted, of a winning address and a clean private life. We plant the rose of remembrance on his neglected grave, though its petals shed more of censure than praise.

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The period covered by Governor Nelson's administration was marked by a practical oversight of the condition of the state and its public affairs. Upon his recommendation, laws were enacted of a prudential character and efficacy, affecting the grain and warehouse business, and remedying many evils in mining matters in the iron region, now so rapidly developing.

A local event of most serious character occurred, which elicited public attention and sympathy. On the 1st of September, 1894, a forest fire, lashed into fury by a high wind, totally destroyed Hinckley and eight other villages, swept to ruin the property of hundreds of farmers over a wide area, and destroyed four hundred lives. The fire ravaged a district with an area of nearly four hundred square miles. The promptness of Governor Nelson, in appointing a commission of prominent and capable men to supervise a scheme of relief, was highly commended and appreciated by a sympathizing state. The Governor saw that everything possible was done to alleviate the sufferings of those so suddenly afflicted.

It was during Governor Nelson's administration that the New Capitol enterprise was undertaken. He appointed the Board of State Capitol Commissioners, which was entrusted with the entire control of this great public enterprise and whose efforts were crowned with such remarkable success.

The Governor's efforts in behalf of drainage of swampy tracts in the Red River Valley and in other parts of the state resulted in much advantage to agricultural

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interests, and that policy has since been pursued with the greatest public benefit.

It was in the winter of 1895 that Governor Nelson was first a candidate for the Senate of the United States. Hon. William D. Washburn was the sitting senator, whose term was about to expire, and his successor was to be elected. Nelson was then governor. Washburn had been largely instrumental in defeating Senator D. M. Sabin in the winter of 1888, and had thus established a one term precedent. Governor Nelson was disposed to profit by this precedent. When the legislature was about to convene, petitions came to the members, asking that Governor Nelson be sent to the Senate. Soon it became apparent, from the action of his friends, that he was a candidate. Senator Washburn and his friends were slow to realize this fact. The bluff farmer from Alexandria appeared upon the scene with a good following. On January 18th the regular caucus was held. Six ballots were had, and the sixth showed that Nelson was in the lead of all the candidates, having 66 votes to 55 for Washburn. An adjournment was then taken, nor was another caucus ever called; but the contest, by some sort of mutual consent, was finished in the open legislative body. The vote being taken in that body, Nelson had 102 votes, and Washburn had only 36. There were a few scattering votes of no importance in this contest. The result was not well received in Minneapolis, where Washburn was deservedly popular.

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Thus was Governor Nelson, on the 23d of January, 1895, in the beginning of his second term as governor, launched on his senatorial career. He took his seat in that illustrious body March 4, 1895, and there he has since remained. The wave from Scandinavia, and the hostility created by the fight against Sabin, proved too much for Senator Washburn and his friends.

We are now to pursue the new senator's career in the most illustrious body in the world, the American Senate. He came there unheralded by any special previous reputation. He had been the first Scandinavian elected to the lower House of Congress, and now was the first to enter the Senate. His fitness for this high position was to be demonstrated by his own efforts. A descendant of those Vikings who were alternately peasants and pirates, he was of a sturdy and merry race. The heroes who followed Charles the Twelfth, who ravaged and conquered Normandy, and carried victorious arms into England and Scotland, who planted their sturdy colonies on the coasts of Iceland and Greenland, and who had even left their monuments on the shores of New England, were of a blood full of courage and persistent power. With no finished education, with no claim to oratory, he was to hammer out on the anvil of patience and industry his fortunes and his fate.

His course in the senate has vindicated his blood, and he has now become one of the leading senators in that body of distinguished men. Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, himself a classical scholar and a senator of high

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repute, has pronounced Nelson "the nearest approach to an ideal senator." His unflagging patience, his industry, his tenacity of purpose, his good judgment coupled with good native ability and good common sense, have enabled him to be credited with more important legislation than any other senator Minnesota has yet had. A survey of his accomplishments will be a surprise even to his friends.

To Senator Nelson is due the creation of an entirely new executive department, with a cabinet officer, known as the "Department of Commerce and Labor." The overburdened condition of the Departments of the Interior and the Treasury, supervising matters wholly foreign to those offices, required that a transfer be made of many bureaus, not only to relieve them, but to place together in a new department matters that were homogeneous. The enormous growth of our manufacturing and commercial industries presented cogent reasons of themselves for the creation of the new department. The facts demanding it were so clearly set forth, in a speech by Senator Nelson, that the measure was adopted. Previous to this, only two new departments had been added to the government within a period of a hundred and eleven years. The Interior Department was created in 1849, and the Agricultural Department in 1889.

There had come to be more potent reasons for promoting the development and supervision of our marvelously growing manufactures and commerce than for the existence of the other two mentioned. It not only

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lightens the labor and responsibility of other overburdened secretaries, but prevents duplication of labor, promotes unity of purpose, and gathers under one control kindred business. The entire credit of this belongs to Senator Nelson, and demonstrates the practical character of his mind in governmental affairs.

The celebrated Bankruptcy Act of 1898 was certainly his work. There has been much discussion over the propriety and advantage of this law to the public. It has been fiercely denounced and as earnestly defended. But the general concensus of opinion approves the original purpose of this measure. Probably it has served its purpose and might now with justice be repealed.

An important part of the Currency and Coinage law of 1900, permitting the establishment of banks with a capital of only \$25,000, was due to Senator Nelson's influence and earnest advocacy, and has been of vast benefit to the country.

The law giving the government the right of appeal in certain instances, in criminal cases, was quite important, and is credited to him.

The very useful amendment to the Agricultural bill, known as the "Nelson Amendment," increasing the standing appropriation of \$25,000 in aid of state agricultural colleges to \$50,000 per annum, thus doubling the efficiency of those Land Grant Colleges, was highly appreciated by the friends of agriculture throughout the country. No public moneys devoted to any purpose have been more fruitful of good results than those granted

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to the development of agriculture. Congratulatory letters from most of the presidents of those colleges, and resolutions from their boards of Regents, poured in on the senator, thanking him for securing a double amount for so important a purpose. And in our own state this opportune assistance is already productive of the best results.

The Territory of Alaska is indebted to Senator Nelson for no less than five important measures vitally affecting the development and prosperity of that great Northwest province. He has been a father to that wonderful land in the day of its urgent need. As a member of the Committee on Commerce, he was instrumental in securing many important laws relating to our shipping, merchant marine, and revenue cutter service.

These and numerous other measures show the practical character of his senatorial work. A more industrious man is not to be found in the senate chamber. That is the verdict of his brother senators, by whom he is held in the highest esteem. To the old soldiers he has indeed been a friend, and the hardships he himself endured as a private stimulated his sympathies in their behalf. While on the Pension Committee, he secured the passage of more pension bills for their relief than any other senator.

That this plain and unassuming but earnest man, in the multitude of things which have pressed upon him in his busy life, has made some mistakes, is not to be denied. That his vigorous and decided manner has

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made him some enemies, is to be admitted. But take him for all in all, as a public man, for the immense practical and valuable service he has rendered to the state and nation, there is not his equal in the Senate of the United States. His periods are not so classic as those of Davis, nor is he the equal of many of the great senators in oratorical art; but for practical and useful work, he sits in the front rank of the *Patres Conscripti*. His power does not lie in the direction of mere rhetoric. It is by untiring industry, united with good judgment and vigor of mind, that his power is manifest. He possesses that patient industry which no labor can weary.

In the field of political conflict he has been a good fighter, for it came to him with his Viking blood. His party fealty has always been strong, though twice he voted for a modified tariff and still persistently maintains that conviction, which policy, at no distant day, will doubtless become the prevailing faith of the nation. The staple of his discourse is facts, sound reasoning, and lucid argument. He never resorts to rhetoric or ornament. They are foreign to his nature. He therefore does not shake the walls of the senate with the thunders of majestic eloquence, as did Conkling, but he accomplishes things. His earnestness and evident sincerity carry conviction. Such men shape the policies of the government and make its laws.

He is adroit and sagacious in political battle, fertile in expedients, and bold in council; and though in the beginning he fought behind the breastworks of a

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large body of Scandinavian supporters, he now stands firmly on his own personal merits and what he has achieved.

In no country in the world, except the United States, could this orphaned Norwegian boy have arisen from friendless obscurity to the eminent position of senatorial dignity he now occupies. It must warm the cockles of his heart into the glow of a romantic patriotism, which makes him more American than if the lines of his lineage led to the very rock of the Pilgrim Fathers, or if an ancestor had been slain at Bunker Hill. He fully appreciates the generosity, the fairness, and the kindness of the American people, and the liberality of our system of government, as exemplified in his case. By his own tireless industry, he has reaped the reward of his golden opportunities.

He always seems to us like a man who has read and understands by experience Longfellow's "Psalm of Life,"

"Life is real, life is earnest."

To him life has been an earnest reality. He does not regard this earth as a mere scene of revelry, but as an arena of contest where only brave spirits can win "in the world's broad field of battle." That lyric expresses, in the happiest and briefest way, what aspiring spirits so often feel, and the song comes as a spur to drooping energy and inspires glowing hopes of the future.

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In private life Senator Nelson is one of the most amiable of men, beloved by his friends and family. His manners are free from all affectation. He has no appetite for what is called "society" in Washington, but devotes himself to his public duties and to his family. He has purchased a modest house in Washington, where he resides during the sessions of Congress, but spends his summers on his homestead at Alexandria.

He has occupied many positions of public trust and honor confided to him as a citizen competent to look after the general welfare. In 1880 he was designated as a presidential elector. He was appointed, by Governor Hubbard, as a member of the Board of Regents of the State University, and served from February 1, 1882, to January 1, 1893.

Senator Nelson was married in Madison, Wisconsin, previous to his removal to Minnesota. There were born to this marriage five children. Three of these died in early childhood, at Alexandria, of diphtheria in 1874. One son, Henry K. Nelson, died in Colorado in 1908. The only surviving child, his daughter, Ida, lives with her father and mother at their residence in Washington City.

The inaugural address of Governor Nelson, January 4, 1893, was published as a pamphlet of thirteen pages, and as the second paper (pages 33-45) in Volume I of the Executive Documents of Minnesota for 1892

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(Minneapolis, 1893). He spoke in praise of the State University, as follows:

In the field of education Minnesota occupies high and advanced grounds at all points. Our State University has within the last ten years grown beyond all precedent in quality, scope and numbers, and today ranks as one of the leading educational institutions of our country, to which we can all look with pride and admiration. In 1882 the total attendance of students was 253. In 1892 the number had reached 1,374. And during 1893 the number will exceed 1,500. Departments of law and medicine have been established and are in most successful operation. There were 453 law and medical students in attendance in 1892, and in 1893 the number will no doubt reach, if not exceed, 600. The fees charged students in these departments are nearly sufficient to pay the salaries of all the instructors, and will in the near future be more than ample for this purpose. Perhaps nothing pertaining to the progress and growth of the University has been more marked and original than the establishment of a school of practical agriculture, giving special instruction in all that pertains to the theory and practice of agriculture, in all its branches. In connection with this school and as a part thereof, is a dairy hall ample and well equipped, in which instruction is given in the theory and practice of cheese and butter making by an expert instructor. This school has been well patronized by the sons of our farmers. * * *

Nelson's biennial message, delivered January 9, 1895, was published as a pamphlet of twenty-three pages, and also as the first paper (pages 17-39) in Volume I, Executive Documents of Minnesota for 1894 (St. Paul, 1895). Among many other subjects, he spoke thus of the Itasca State Park:

The legislature of 1891 acted wisely and with rare good judgment when it established this park. Itasca lake and its preservation is sacred and dear to every American heart. The lake and all its beautiful environment should, as far as possible, be kept intact in its primitive and normal condition; and in order to accomplish this, the lands in private ownership should, as speedily as possible, be acquired by the state. * * * I commend this subject to your favorable consideration and recommend that you appropriate sufficient funds to acquire these lands by purchase or condemnation.

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On legislation in the interest of labor, he said:

Recent labor strikes, prolonged and extensive, strongly suggest the importance of enacting suitable laws for the conciliation or arbitration of disputes between capital and labor, in some tribunal or before some board designated by law. Inasmuch as both capital and labor have the undoubted right to make a peaceable strike, compulsory arbitration is not warranted and would be unwise. But in most cases, if a proper tribunal with judicious safeguards were provided, capital and labor would both be disposed to voluntarily submit their controversies to arbitration. And the tide of public opinion would, in such cases, not only impel the parties into such a court, but would make its decrees respected and obeyed. He who would refuse to arbitrate, or, having submitted to arbitration, would refuse to accept the result, would forfeit all public approval and would, in the outcome and in one form or another, have to submit.

In the presence of so much idle labor needing the assistance of public and private charity, it would be proper to consider the wisdom of giving our various municipalities more enlarged powers to raise and expend funds in the construction of water-works, sewerage, streets, parks, electric lights and other essential urban facilities, to the end that such public improvements could be made in a manner to afford labor to those who without such labor would have to rely on charity of some kind for their support. The object of such legislation should not be to authorize needless improvement, but to give the needy, unemployed the preference in obtaining municipal work, which they do not have under the ordinary contract system.

The following speeches by Nelson were published as pamphlets:

Interstate Commerce, a speech in the House of Representatives in Congress, January 19, 1887; thirteen pages.

Tariff Reform, a speech in the House of Representatives, March 29, 1888; eighteen pages.

Speech, on Political Issues, to farmers of the Red River Valley, delivered at Argyle, Minnesota, July 28, 1894; sixteen pages.

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An Adverse Balance of Trade, and not the Greenback, is the Cause of large Gold Withdrawal, speech in the Senate of the United States, December 31, 1895; eight pages.

Immigration, one of the Chief Factors in the Rapid Growth and Development of the Country, speech in the Senate, May 14, 1896; eighteen pages.

On the Injustice of a Ten Dollar Head Tax on Immigrants, speech in the Senate, December 17, 1896; four pages.

Uniform System of Bankruptcy, speech in the Senate, April 8, 1897; twenty-four pages.

Issue of \$150,000,000 Additional Treasury Notes, and the Teller Resolution to coin Silver Dollars on Private Account and pay the National Bonds with them, speeches in the Senate of the United States, January 29, and May 27, 1898, fourteen pages.

Affairs in Cuba, speech in the Senate April 16, 1898; eight pages.

Remarks on the Bankruptcy Bill, in the Senate, June 24, 1898; eight pages.

Speech, on National Questions, delivered at Hallock, Minnesota, September 19, 1898; sixteen pages.

The Right to Acquire and Govern Additional Territory, speech in the Senate, January 20, 1899; twenty-four pages.

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Speech, on the Spanish War and the Philippine Islands, delivered at Alexandria, Minnesota, September 1, 1900; sixteen pages.

The Philippines; the Constitutional Power of Legislation, possessed by Congress, and the Limitations upon such Power, speech in the Senate, February 20, 1902; twenty pages.

Speech on the Statehood Bill of Oklahoma, Arizona, and New Mexico, in the Senate, January 5-8 and 12-13, 1903; thirty-three pages.

Speech on the Statehood Bill of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory and of New Mexico and Arizona, in the Senate, January 4 and 5, 1905; fourteen pages.

Railway Rate Legislation; the Duties and Powers of Congress in the premises, speech in the Senate, March 15, 1906; twenty-three pages.

The Railway Rate Bill is not Unconstitutional, speech in the Senate, April 2, 1906; seven pages.

Regulation of Railroad Rates, speech in the Senate, May 3, 1906; eight pages.

Protect Depositors and Keep Reserves at Home, the True Remedy for Panics, speech in the Senate, February 26, 1908; twenty-three pages.

DAVID MARSTON CLOUGH

THIRTEENTH GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF
MINNESOTA

January 31, 1895, to January 2, 1899

THE gubernatorial rose which has been placed on the breast of sixteen chosen citizens of Minnesota, is something to covet, something worthy of ambition, a decoration which carries honor. These histories are not the cenotaph of a party; they are the reflected character of the people of the state. These governors have not been the petted children of good fortune. They are, in a large measure, the express image of the people or some powerful class of them.

Sibley represented the border barons, the daring men who controlled in the barbarian days of the territory. Miller and Marshall represented the martial spirit of the Civil War. Austin personated the rising judicial force, silently at work in its influence. Pillsbury represented the general business industries of the state. Nelson was a stalwart type of the Norse element which has become powerful in its influence. Lind embodied the political unrest which, from a variety of causes, permeated the public mind at that period. Clough was the ideal lumberman, of an interest which

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comprised many strong men who were always active, vigilant, and assertive.

A further glance shows how class interests have controlled. The first group which dominated our territory was the great fur traders, the brawniest of men, who were represented by such intrepid spirits as Ramsay Crooks, Robert Stuart, Charles Oakes, Charles W. W. Borup, Clement H. Beaulieu, and Allan Morrison. These were followed by Henry H. Sibley and Henry M. Rice. But the power of the fur traders gradually melted away before the advent of new interests. With rapid growth and population came the lumber barons. Pine became the synonym of wealth and power. These, with the Falls of St. Anthony as an operating center, held sway over every pine-fringed stream and lake that flowed from the North, and with their virile force floated into the politics of the state. There was Dorilus Morrison, Loren Fletcher, the Pillsburys, the Washburns, the Walkers, and John Martin.

There were also in the lumber business such strong companies as Nelson Tenney and Co., E. W. Backus and Co., C. A. Smith and Co., H. C. Akeley and Co., Shevlin and Carpenter, the Bovey Lumber Co., Merriman and Barrows, Farnham and Lovejoy, and L. Day and Sons. Such men created a formidable array of competitors, and among them Clough had to battle his way.

But in the process of years their power, like that of the fur barons, has been dissolved by the destruction of the great pine forests which are rapidly being

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eaten up by the greed of commerce. And now appears upon the scene a new and wonderful interest. Two rivers of iron pursue their sinuous way through the mighty masses of eruptive rocks in northern Minnesota, long secreted by a covering of soil and great forests, but recently uncovered, exposing fabulous wealth. To these deposits of wealth people have come, and towns and cities have sprung up, as with the magic of Aladdin's lamp. This interest, too, evinces a passion for power, and will yet claim its day in the political arena. Their moneyed hand is already felt in moulding things. Thus do class interests appear in the shifting political kaleidoscope of our state. Agriculture, the basis of all other prosperity, as a class interest, alone has never had its representation in the executive chair.

David Marston Clough was born in Lyme, New Hampshire, December 27, 1846. His father, Elbridge G. Clough, was a lumberman, and so David came to his life avocation by inheritance.

The Clough family was of Welsh origin, and all were farmers and lumbermen by pursuit. The oldest son of the family, Gilbert, served with honor for three years in the Civil War in Company A of the Eighth Minnesota Infantry.

David had very limited educational opportunities. His attendance at the district school was very irregular. From early years he had to work on the farm in summer, and in the winter he generally went to the

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pineries. His chances were not very great in a family of fourteen children. Good inducements were held out to prevail upon the family to remove to the far West. In 1855 they removed to Waupaca, Wisconsin, where, however, they remained but two years. The fame of the Minnesota pineries was sufficiently attractive to induce another hegira, and in July, 1857, the entire family removed to Spencer Brook, Isanti county, Minnesota.

At the age of twenty, David felt it his duty to seek employment for himself and relieve the large family of some of the burden of support. He went to Minneapolis, where he found his first employer in the person of Henry F. Brown. He drove a team and sawed logs. He was thus engaged for about four years, and carefully saved his money. He then formed a partnership with his older brother Gilbert, under the firm name of Clough Brothers, and, returning to the pineries of the Rum river and the northern Mississippi, they actively engaged in lumbering. In 1888 his brother Gilbert died, and David assumed sole control of the business, which by their activity had grown to large proportions. Its importance for that period is shown by the fact that they employed a capital of half a million dollars, and handled in a single year more than 15,000,000 feet of lumber.

Up to the time of their partnership, the Clough brothers lived at Spencer Brook, Isanti county. In 1872, however, business still increasing, the firm re-

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moved to Minneapolis. D. M. Clough took up his residence on the east side, where he remained as long as he lived in Minnesota. They were early recognized as one of the substantial firms at the Falls. When Gilbert died, David brought his younger brothers to his aid. They now handled millions of feet of pine, and established a high reputation both as lumbermen and as business men.

During these years the activities of D. M. Clough were very great. He has been a Republican from his very boyhood, and was an active worker for the party of his choice in all caucuses and conventions. From 1883 to 1887 he was a member of the Minneapolis city council, and he was president of that body for one term. In 1886 his party activity was recognized, and he was elected to the state senate and was re-elected in 1888 and 1890. In 1891 he was chosen president of the Minnesota State Agricultural Society, and by his zeal and influence he put that important institution on its feet financially so that it became a great success. His ambition and prominence as a party worker made him more and more a leader. In 1892 he was nominated for the office of lieutenant governor, with the Hon. Knute Nelson as his running mate for governor. Again in 1894 he, with Governor Nelson, was renominated by acclamation for the same office. In January, 1895, Nelson was elected to the United States senate, and Clough succeeded to the office of governor. Certainly no man not possessed of talent and tact could, in so short a time, with but lit-

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the education, have vaulted from the pineries of the North into the gubernatorial chair.

Governor Clough served through the remainder of Governor Nelson's term, which was two years lacking one month. He then became a candidate himself before the Republican convention of 1896. At one time he was threatened with very material opposition in his own county. The bluff ways of the somewhat rough and decided Mississippi lumberman were not wholly agreeable to quite a number of the citizens of Minneapolis. One of the leading Republican journals took an active part in inspiring the opposition. But a few months later the opposition lost its force, and Clough received the solid support of the Hennepin delegation in the state Republican convention. His chief opponent in the campaign was John Lind, a bright and able man, who possessed great strength among his own nationality, the Swedes. The result was 165,806 votes for Clough; and for Lind, Democrat, 162,254 votes; for William J. Dean, Prohibitionist, 5,154; for A. A. Ames, Independent, 2,890; and for W. B. Hammond, Socialist, 1,125 votes. In all aspects the result was quite a triumph for Clough. He was now governor in his own right, and he exercised its functions with a firm and decided hand. He was a little careless of his dignity, but his manners were open and frank.

A careful review of his messages exhibits a sensible and practical knowledge of the condition of the state. His administration came after a very depressing

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financial revulsion which for three years had operated to obstruct progress. But better days soon followed.

It was during the Clough period that we had the war between the United States and Spain. He organized and equipped four Minnesota regiments for that service, the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth. The mustering of these regiments reminded the people of the days of the Civil War. They were mustered in April 29, 1898, just thirty-seven years later than the First regiment of the Civil War. The duties of the governor, in all matters pertaining to the organization of these Spanish war troops, were well and faithfully done.

It was also during this period, in October, 1898, that, by a blunder serious in its character, the general government sent a small and insufficient body of troops to Leech Lake, in this state, to overawe and suppress an outbreak of the Pillager Indians, which led to the death of a number of brave and noble-hearted men. The governor was constrained to call out such state troops as were available, which gave confidence to the settlers and prevented other bands of Indians from joining in the hostilities about Leech Lake. It was in this outbreak that the gallant and true-hearted Major M. C. Wilkinson of the Third United States Infantry was cruelly shot while in the line of patriotic duty.

It was charged against Clough that he was the choice of an alleged political ring which had controlled state politics for many years. "Machine rule" was the cry. But

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in the lapse of years we observe that one "ring" succeeds another, and one "machine" is followed by another. It was not the people who were suffering, but the hungry "outs" were shouting to get in. It is always amusing, in the retrospect, to see these fierce battles fading away into nothingness; yet, when they are on, they roast each other as on a gridiron.

If Clough had his personal faults, his capacity and integrity must be acknowledged. Think of an untrained boy of twenty, reared amid the pines and birches of the frozen North, with but a limited education, appearing at the Falls of St. Anthony, drinking in the measureless possibilities of those mighty waters, and thence forward, with restless and unpausing energy, elbowing his way among files of brainy and forceful men. Soon he was a manufacturing power, then councilman, senator, lieutenant governor, and governor. These things are not done without ability, courage, ambition, tact, capacity. He won his way over a score of notable contestants, and just and final history must hand him the signal of honorable success. He had earnest ways of his own, and when things went wrong it moved the fountains of his indignation and awakened the energies of his invective. We admit he was not a master in literature, not a student of Shakespeare or Milton. But from what one of our governors could you collect a nosegay of literary gems, save Davis. Our executives are not a gallery of literary luminaries. They were mostly practical

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and earnest men, representing their times and the people.

We endeavor to make clear to our readers the personalities of the men concerning whom they have been reading. We try to marshal these men, as in a gallery, that we may see those who have moved the political wheel and shaped the policies of the state. We trust we are absolutely non-partisan, depicting Republicans and Democrats alike, without affection or favor. We regard two parties as a necessity for furthering the public good. Systematic opposition prevents mischief and keeps the machine of state in the better path. The captains of the two great parties are often equally honorable, and equally worthy of consideration. We seldom do justice but to the dead. Contemporary jealousy of one person or another attacks the reputation of living men.

There was an innate force of character that lifted Clough above his fellow lumbermen. He had ambition, backed by energy. He possessed a personality which is quite indefinable. But he had it. It was in part the secret of his triumph as a politician. There are privates and there are captains in business and in politics. Clough would not consent to be a private. The personality of a man is a prodigious factor in his success. Just what the units of Clough's personality were, it is not easy to say. Clough had a good smile. It recalls what a Nebraska farmer said about Mark Hanna. When he heard him speak, he said, "I have changed my mind.

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You can't make me believe that Hanna is a bad man. Why, he's got a smile that will grease a wagon."

Men who sought to change Governor Clough's mind were often disappointed. He had a will of his own, and it generally worked in a good direction. The least common thing is common sense. But Clough had his share of that golden commodity. We remember an old minister who was wont to say that if you wanted learning, if you wanted even the grace of God, if you wanted anything else, in short, you might get it; but if you wanted common sense, you would never get it. "The finest culture will not compensate for its absence."

There is one point in Governor Clough's political history for which, as a politician and party man, he is surely censurable. He used his influence to defeat the Hon. William H. Eustis, who was the candidate of the Republican party for the succession. He himself had enjoyed the benefits of party discipline, and he should not have permitted his personal likes and dislikes to defeat his own party, to whom he owed what he was.

When Clough left the executive chair, even in one month thereafter, he could no longer restrain his old instincts, ways, and habits. The "Call of the Wild" came upon him, and on the shores of the Pacific, at Everett, Washington, he has returned to his first love, perhaps heeding the suggestion of Bryant in *Thanatopsis*,

"Or lose thyself in the continuous woods,
Where rolls the Oregon."

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Amid those mighty monarchs, the redwood forests, he is at home again. He, who with his axe, in youth, invaded the primeval forests of Minnesota, is now, with riper age, and vast experience, achieving a greater victory on the shores of the Pacific. With his axe he has written the epic of the forests.

Under the firm name of the "Clark-Nickerson Lumber Company," he is engaged in the manufacture of band-sawed fir lumber, on a very extensive scale, and all sorts of white pine lumber. Their properties lie near Everett, in the state of Washington, and at that place, in 1900, they erected one of the most complete lumbering plants in the United States, if not in the world. This great mill is located at tide-water and on the railroad, with a view to catering to both the car and cargo trade. The plant is built on piles so that ocean-going vessels of the deepest draught can lie alongside and receive their loads at their private docks. They saw timbers to the amazing length of 120 feet. It is said that the quality of their lumber is unexcelled on the Pacific coast.

Governor Clough is now in full charge of the enormous business, and his extensive experience gives him a personal knowledge of the specialty not excelled, perhaps, by any other man in the country. They make shipments to South Africa, South America, Honolulu, Australia, Mexico, and California, by water, and to the Atlantic coast and all intermediate points, by rail. He is again

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the man of business, and politics and the governorship are but a dream of the past.

In April, 1868, Governor Clough was married to Miss Addie Barton, of Spencer Brook, Minnesota. The young people had known each other from childhood, as their parents had been neighbors, and both came with their families when they removed to the West. To this union one child was born, Nina, now Mrs. R. H. Hartley. They are now living at Everett, Washington, where Colonel Hartley is one of the stockholders of the Clark-Nickerson Lumber Company. Of the fourteen children of Governor Clough's father's family, seven of whom were boys and seven girls, eight are now living.

The biennial message of Governor Clough to the legislature, January 6, 1897, was published as a pamphlet of twenty-four pages, and also as the first paper (pages 25-48) of Volume I of the Executive Documents of Minnesota for 1896 (St. Paul, 1897). In this message he said, in part:

The educational interests of the state have materially advanced during the past two years, notwithstanding the prevailing stagnation of business. In every county there is shown an increase in school enrollment, average attendance, and expenditure for school purposes. * * * The increase in average attendance is the most hopeful sign, showing that the object for which our people tax themselves to support schools is being attained to an increasing extent.

* * * * *

The superintendent also recommends that a Minnesota Day for our public schools be established—a day which shall be specially devoted to teaching the history of the early discovery

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and settlement of the state, the heroic deeds of the sons of Minnesota on the frontier and on the field of war, and also to impart a knowledge of the resources of the state and a respect and love for its institutions. I concur in this recommendation, and add a further suggestion that the legislature appropriate annually a small sum of money, \$100 or \$200, to be expended under the joint authority of the superintendent of public instruction and state historical society for prizes to be distributed among the students of our high schools for essays upon topics of Minnesota interest.

* * * * *

During the past few years many factors have conspired in all parts of the United States to develop a great popular interest in the subject of good roads. Everywhere there is an appreciation of the need for and value of such roads. Men of all classes perceive that the continued prosperity of the state, and especially of the agricultural sections, demands the early adoption of efficient measures for improving the condition of our highways. The main question before us for settlement at this time involves the choice of the best methods for advancing this desirable end. I would recommend the adoption of some system of county roads with limited state aid. * * *

Minnesota was one of the first, if not the first state in the Union, to place upon the statute book a law seeking to regulate the hours of all labor and to restrict that of women and children. That first law of 1858 was followed later by the adoption of certain provisions of the penal code relating to the employment of children. The legislature of 1895 adopted a child labor law that in most of its provisions placed Minnesota in advance of any of her sister commonwealths. Through the instrumentality of the bureau of labor, this law has been made most effective, and by methods that have developed practically no friction or opposition. The labor of children under sixteen years of age has been lessened in factories one-half and that in stores nearly one-third. The average age at which our youth begin to toil in stores and factories has been increased fully one year. Those who have studied the evils of modern child labor can but rejoice at the good results thus accomplished. * *

Clough's second biennial message, delivered January 4, 1899, at the end of his administration as governor, was published in twenty pages as a pamphlet, and also the second paper (pages 17-36) in the first volume of the Executive Documents for 1898, (St. Paul, 1899). Of

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the Spanish-American war and the services of regiments from this state, he said:

The year just brought to a close has chronicled the opening and closing of a war between the United States and the kingdom of Spain. The citizens of Minnesota, in all stations and callings, showed their loyalty to our common country and their readiness to give health, strength and life itself in its service. The willingness to do and to dare, to suffer and not complain, on the part of our four Minnesota regiments, is proof that the spirit of 1776 and of 1861 has not yet departed from the land and from our state. Our brave boys of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Regiments have, under most trying circumstances, proved themselves worthy sons and successors to the brave members of the First Minnesota who withstood Pickett's charge at Gettysburg, and to the equally brave men of the other Minnesota Regiments who faced death on the numerous battlefields of the Civil War. The state, honored by their services and by their patience under the most trying circumstances, is ready to honor its volunteers, from the humblest private in the ranks up through all the various grades of officers to the distinguished soldier and statesman whom its citizens have now elected to be chief magistrate. It will also honor the noble and self-sacrificing women who organized the forces of human kindness in the homes of the land and made them effective for ministering to and comforting those sick, wounded and dying in camp, or in hospital, or on the bloody field of battle.



JOHN LIND.

J O H N L I N D

Fourteenth Governor of the State of Minnesota, was born in Kanna, Sweden, March 25, 1854. He came to the United States, with his parents, when thirteen years of age, and has ever since resided in Minnesota. He became a lawyer, and was a Representative in Congress in 1887-1893, and again in 1903-1905. He was governor of Minnesota from January 2, 1899, to January 7, 1901.

JOHN LIND

FOURTEENTH GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF
MINNESOTA

January 2, 1899, to January 7, 1901

WE have been gazing on the likenesses of our governors, as they stand ranged in the gallery of the state, representing the unbroken edict of one party for forty years, to whose express commands they had yielded inviolate obedience. We now approach the period when dissent appears. There were not, at first, radical differences, but the wedge entered and real dissensions on public questions began to manifest themselves. The silver question, as taught by William Jennings Bryan, came rapidly upon the heels of the tariff revision doctrine so earnestly maintained, for many years, by many able men of both parties. These questions marshaled themselves against the established order, and boldly challenged the country for a hearing.

The stalwart Republicans were always lukewarm reformers. There was, however, a spirit abroad among the people which would no longer suffer party leaders to make up their opinions for them, as doctors do the prescriptions their patients are to take. The result of the gubernatorial election in 1896, when Clough, the

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stalwart Republican candidate, was elected by the diminished majority of 3,552, foreshadowed a weakening in Republican ranks.

There was at this time as remarkable a man, as a politician, as any man we have yet had in Minnesota. Born in the humblest station, with a comparatively limited education, he raised himself by his talents and industry to a controlling position in the affairs of the state. To John Lind belongs the unique distinction of being the first to break through the Republican ranks and assert a new regime. He had thus made an enduring mark for himself in our political history.

There is in every strong life a certain personal force and power, a tenacity of purpose, and individuality of character, which make it assertive, confident, aggressive. This sort of a personality was possessed by John Lind. He was fortunate in the time of his separation from his party, for the conditions were opportune. Party infidelities were creeping in. Then behind him, as a positive force, was the racial potency which was already consolidating and hardening into a cohesive mass, then and afterward to be thrown into the personal political scale without much reference to issues. That Mr. Lind did not consider this element in his separation from his party, would be to charge him with lack of sagacity to appreciate the situation. We find no fault with Lind on account of his shifting his politics. Rather the more we admire him for his manly and independent stand, presuming his changed political convic-

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tions properly rested upon his judgment and conscience.

John Lind was born in the Parish of Kanna, Province of Smaland, Sweden, March 25, 1854. His forefathers were farmers, freemen, owning the soil they tilled. Family tradition says they had lived there from years immemorial. The older men on both sides had always been identified with the administration of communal affairs and as peace officers. They were neither wealthy nor poor. Their record for character was without stain. They were proud of their standing, and resented an insult with a promptitude that commanded respect. This was particularly true of his maternal grandfather, Jonas Jonason. He was a "deacon," and also a peace officer. In the latter capacity, it is said that his judgments were often enforced with his good right arm.

John's father was born April 11, 1826, and died August 11, 1895. His mother was born April 26, 1831, and is now living at Winthrop, Sibley county, Minnesota. She is now, at the ripe age of seventy-seven, a well-preserved woman. Intellectually, she was never brighter or stronger than she is at this time. The mother is a remarkable woman. She had the full religious training given to the parish children. In this country, she joined the Methodist church in 1883, of which she is a consistent and devout member, and can defend her faith with the best. She has always been a great reader, reading English well. She possesses a vigorous

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and logical mind, cogent in reasoning, and is a fine conversationalist. She is, withal, an excellent farmer. She directs the work and management of her four hundred eighty acre farm, with as much judgment and enthusiasm as any of her neighbors. At the end of each year she generously distributes the surplus of her annual income among her grandchildren. This brave and noble woman has, beyond question, transmitted some of her traits to her distinguished son.

In 1867, incited by the stories of American opportunities, the family immigrated to the United States, and, following a popular tide, settled in Goodhue county, Minnesota. When the family located there, John was thirteen years old. Soon afterward he began work in a sawmill, in which he lost his left hand by an accident. This was probably not altogether a misfortune, for it compelled an immediate abandonment of labor for intellectual pursuits, and thus directed his destiny to higher spheres of action.

At once he entered the great American college, the common school, and by assiduous attention to his opportunities, at the early age of sixteen, he was granted a certificate entitling him to teach in the public schools. His first venture was in Sibley county, where he taught one year. He then removed to New Ulm. By hard work and study in a local law office, and with the exercise of close economy, he was able to enter the university of the state in 1875. Here he continued a studious career for one year, when he was able to pass the examination

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required to be admitted to the bar as a lawyer, in 1877. He had a limited practice, and in the meantime he was elected superintendent of the schools of Brown county, which position he held for two years. In 1881 he was appointed, by President Garfield, receiver of the United States land office at Tracy, in Lyon county.

He by no means abandoned his law practice in New Ulm, for he was devoted to his profession. His legal ability now began to be recognized in that portion of the state, and he won increasing reputation by his success in some important cases against the railroad companies. He was very active in politics at this period, and was an energetic worker in the Republican party.

In 1886 he was nominated for Congress as a Republican in the Second District of Minnesota, succeeding Hon. James B. Wakefield. The district at that time was very large, embracing twenty counties,—in fact, it included all of southwestern Minnesota. The political campaign was a very active one, being the year in which Dr. A. A. Ames, of Minneapolis, a Democrat, came near defeating A. R. McGill, Republican, for governor. Lind made a very active canvass and was elected by a majority of 9,648. His Democratic competitor was A. H. Bullis, of Faribault county.

Two years later, in 1888, he was again nominated, and his opponent (Democrat) was Hon. Morton S. Wilkinson, formerly Republican United States senator from Minnesota. Lind was elected by a majority of 9,219 over Wilkinson.

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Again in 1890 Lind was nominated as the Republican candidate for Congress. His opponent was Gen. James H. Baker, of Blue Earth county. General Baker was nominated as the Alliance candidate, and received the votes of the Democratic party, who made no nomination. Lind received 20,788 votes; Baker, 20,306, leaving Lind a plurality of 482. The Prohibitionists also had a ticket in the field. Ira B. Reynolds was their candidate, who received 1,146 votes. This left Mr. Lind a minority candidate by 333 votes. General Baker made a thorough canvass on the issue of "tariff revision," and planted that seed of tariff reform in the district which culminated in the overthrow of James T. McCleary on the "stand-pat" issue of a high tariff seventeen years later. All the other Congressional districts in the state elected Democratic Congressmen that year, 1890, on the same issue. Thus the Republican strength was greatly impaired and the doctrine of tariff revision strongly affirmed in Minnesota.

Mr. Lind's career of six years in Congress was marked by great activity, especially in reform measures of public importance. He took a very active interest in Indian affairs, and secured the passage of a bill establishing seven Indian schools in various parts of the country, one of which was at Pipestone, in his own district. He secured the payment of many long-standing claims for Indian depredations to citizens of his district.

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One of the most important acts of legislation which he secured was the passage of a law for the reorganization of the Federal courts in Minnesota, even now recognized as the "Lind Bill." Under this law Federal courts are now held at Minneapolis, Mankato, Winona, and Fergus Falls, as well as in St. Paul. This saves litigants long journeys and great expense. He was also a strenuous fighter for the integrity and enforcement of the Interstate Commerce act, to prevent discriminations in favor of persons or places. He earnestly advocated the automatic couples and power-brake bill and other like devices, which proved so effectual in protecting human life. In another bill he succeeded in having Minneapolis made a port of entry. He became an acknowledged authority on all questions relating to the public lands. He resisted the tariff on lumber in the economical interests of his constituents, and because he said that it committed the government to the destruction of its own forests rather than those of other people. He favored free sugar, free materials for binding twine, and was for free twine. He thus came to the positions held by General Baker in his celebrated canvass in 1890.

Mr. Lind voluntarily retired as a candidate for Congress, in 1892, absolutely refusing to enter the race. The convention paid him a very high compliment for his efficient services as a Republican Congressman, in resolutions nominating his successor. Lind as a member of Congress had avowed and defended Republican

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principles. All his life, until the free silver agitation, he was an ardent and enthusiastic Republican, and for six years was the faithful representative of that party in Congress.

One of the constant adherents and followers of the free silver policy as espoused by Senator Teller, of Colorado, and by other "Silver Republicans," was John Lind. The Republican party, especially of the West, previous to the National Republican convention held at St. Louis in 1896, was firm in its adherence to free silver. In Minnesota the state platform had uniformly announced that doctrine. So it cannot be said that Mr. Lind abandoned the party on that issue. He simply remained in his previous faith on that question, while the Republican party, in its national convention of 1896, assumed a new firm position for the gold standard. The Minnesota Republican state platforms, for years, vindicate this statement as to silver.

If anything were wanting to confirm this historic fact, the following pungent passage from a speech of Cushman K. Davis, delivered at Crookston, October, 13, 1890, will be convincing:

We passed the silver bill. Since 1878 that instrumentality of finance, that right arm of every monetary system, which had existed in efficacy through all the ages since and before the time when Abraham paid 300 shekels of silver for the cave in which to bury his dead, that great function of civilization was restored and made legal tender, and from the moment it was poured into the veins of circulation, prices increased, a universal sense of prosperity was felt, and the country began to move forward upon a career of prosperity, which I assure you, my fellow citizens, we do not begin to appreciate even in its beginning. We raised it from its discredited and dis-

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turbed condition, and we gave it as money the purchasing power of gold. The price of silver before the bill was passed was 92 cents, and 120 after the bill was passed, the nominal price being 129. And what followed immediately upon the passage of the bill? Prices rose throughout the country on the cereals, on corn and barley. That work for the farmer was done by the Republican party. I tell you, gentlemen, that the passage of that silver bill was ten thousand times more beneficial to the people of Minnesota and the Union than any tariff bill your reformers could possibly devise.¹

The silver question became more and more one of exciting interest during Mr. Lind's last term as a Republican in Congress. As late as 1896 he was still characterized as a "free silver" Republican. Mr. S. M. Owen had been nominated by the Populists in 1894 as their candidate for governor, and the canvass which followed blazed the way for coming events. September 12, 1896, Mr. Lind addressed his celebrated letter on the silver issue to the Minnesota public. By the terms of this letter, it would appear that now Mr. Lind had embraced the general political ideas entertained by the Populists. July 16, 1896, he was unanimously nominated for governor by the Populist and Free Silver convention, and was subsequently endorsed by the Democratic party. His Republican opponent was the Hon. David M. Clough, of Minneapolis. The election demonstrated that Lind was a popular candidate, as he reduced the Republican majority to but little over three thousand.

¹The only copy of Senator Davis' able speech on that occasion now in existence (type-written) is at this time in possession of the writer.

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Of this Populistic convention, Hon. Frank A. Day was a conspicuous member. Hon. C. A. Towne, of Duluth, made the leading speech, in which he affirmed that he had been a Republican till a quarter to two o'clock, June 18, 1896. Hon. Frank M. Nye was also one of the orators of the occasion. Free Silver was the argient bridge on which each of them, except Nye, finally passed over to the Democratic party.

In 1898 the war with Spain was proclaimed, following the destruction of the historic war vessel, the *Maine*, in Havana harbor. President McKinley called for volunteers to defend and avenge the national honor. Minnesota, with its accustomed patriotic impulse, offered several regiments for the service, and among other volunteers John Lind, though with but one arm, gallantly offered his services to Governor Clough, although sacrificing a fine law practice. He was accepted and made quartermaster of the Twelfth regiment, commanded by Colonel Bobleter, of New Ulm. He was so commissioned, with the rank of first lieutenant. Lieutenant Lind at once became popular with the regiment, by his arduous labors keeping the men well equipped and provisioned. The regiment was encamped at Camp Thomas and Chickamauga National Park.

During this period of military inactivity, Lieutenant Lind was unanimously nominated, October 28, 1898, by the People's Silver Republican and Democratic organizations for governor. Mr. Lind, after his defeat in 1896, had resolved never again to enter the field of

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politics. But so unanimous and pressing was the call, that he put aside his desire for retirement and accepted the summons, subject to the limitations of his military service. After the surrender of the Spanish forces, at Santiago, and the return of the Minnesota regiments to the state, Mr. Lind was able to make but two short series of speeches in some of the more important places of the state. Wherever he went he was cordially and enthusiastically received. The money standard of the country, it was claimed, was being subverted, and he was the chosen candidate of the new financial ideas. All the forces of so-called reform were ranged under the banners of Populism. Everywhere he was met with the most enthusiastic popular demonstrations of personal admiration, confidence, and sympathy. It was charged that Mr. Lind was nominated to catch the Scandinavian vote. But such a charge gave a low estimate of the character of the man, his convictions, and his devoted patriotism.

His Republican opponent was William Henry Eustis, of Minneapolis. Eustis was a man of intellectual ability, of high culture, imbued with the true spirit of civic patriotism, and with a public and private career of unblemished manhood. He was indeed a typical American citizen, and stood in the forefront of his party. Governor Clough was singularly bitter against Eustis, in a way which was ungenerous, in a matter growing out of William D. Washburn's election to a seat in the United States senate. Clough's obligations to his party

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should have constrained him to support the Republican candidate by every principle of duty and honor. But even without this defection, it is doubtful if Lind would not have been elected, as his personal popularity was great, and he was on the popular side in the financial questions, then uppermost in the public mind. However, it was generally held by the Republicans that the Swede nationality defeated Eustis. Lind's majority above the aggregate vote for the four other candidates, was 11,398.

The official returns of this election were as follows: William H. Eustis, Republican, 111,796 votes; John Lind, Democrat and People's, 131,980; George W. Higgins, Prohibition, 5,299; William B. Hammond, Socialist-Labor, 1,685; Lionel C. Long, Midroad-Populist, 1,802.

Lind, by the favor and insistence of his friends, was three times a candidate for governor: first, in 1896, when Hon. David M. Clough defeated him by a meager majority; second, in 1898, when he was elected over Hon. William H. Eustis; and last, in 1900, when Hon. Samuel R. Van Sant defeated him by a plurality of 2,254 votes. By this time the silver question had lost its potency, and by so much Lind's strength was diminished.

It will be noted that Mr. Lind was the first to break through the continuous possession of power by the Republican party of Minnesota, which had been vigorously maintained for a period of quite forty years. Vermont is the only other state that affords so long an unbroken

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period of Republican supremacy. The causes which underlie its final defeat are found in the changed conditions of dominating public questions, to which the Republicans were slow to respond. The truth of history also requires us to note that a contributory cause was the Scandinavian vote, which adhered to those of their own blood even against their fidelity to their political principles.

Governor Lind's messages, in 1899 and 1901, are of historic interest because of their influence upon the state's public policy and legislation, especially concerning taxation and the regulation of railroads and of state institutions. Through his influence upon legislation, and likewise through the board of equalization appointed by him, the state made marked progress in the assessment and taxation of mines, railroads, municipal franchise corporations, and foreign corporations. The railroad and warehouse commission appointed by him reduced freight rates. His recommendation for a state board of control over state institutions bore substantial results.

After retiring from the executive office, Governor Lind returned to the practice of his profession at his home in New Ulm. Here he soon gained a lucrative business and was speedily identified with the most important local interests of his home town. In 1901 he removed to the city of Minneapolis, where he at once engaged in his chosen profession, the law, in company with Mr. Andreas Ueland.

Governor Lind has delivered many public addresses on a wide variety of subjects, which illustrate his general information and interpret his views on economic

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position without being savagely denounced as inconsistent.

Parties themselves, as a whole, shift their positions, abandoning ancient policies and going over to the other side. The truth is that the course pursued by one side generally dictates that taken by the other. Take the instance of the acquisition of territory. At one time the Democrats were the avowed champions of territorial acquisition, as in the case of Texas, California, Arizona, and New Mexico. Now the Republicans are acquiring territory, as in Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, and they stand ready to swallow Cuba. President Roosevelt, supported by a Republican congress, is bravely pushing sound policies which yesterday were Democratic. Deep-rooted prejudices are thus being overturned. Such is party tactics and its imperious necessities, compelling parties to change views without compunction. The Democratic party under Benton were for "hard money" only. But with years and changed conditions they became the champions of "fiat money." If one party is for a given reform, the other party is quite liable to be against it. In the lull of great moral questions, parties are in the line mainly for the purpose of obtaining or retaining power, whatever their pretensions to sincerity.

When this maneuvering is going on by great parties, we must not be surprised that individuals, like Mr. Lind, from the best of motives, should change, if they so desire, without censure. Such changes in English politics, by prominent men, are matters of repeated history. Sir Robert Peel and his whole cabinet went over from Pro-

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tection to Free Trade, in a single night. Daniel Webster changed front, in early life, from Free Trade to Protection. Thus it is that on questions of mere expediency opinions come and go. They pass and are forgotten.

Lind's general character is not wanting in those sterling qualities which greatly entitle a public man to confidence and respect. His private life is one of decorum and personal purity, a matter which so enriches the character and influence of a public man. His family ties are very dear, well exemplifying what the domestic virtues should be in a true American home. His religious convictions have often been challenged. While as a matter of fact he may not be a strict orthodox in religious belief, yet the writer is assured that he cherishes an habitual reverence for the Deity and His divine perfections, a belief in our personal accountability, and that he entertains a lively hope of an immortal future. With such a mother as he has, his religious beliefs could not be otherwise than as here stated. In church affiliations he may be accounted a Unitarian.

Mr. Lind has held many appointments of importance in affairs other than political. In 1892 Governor Nelson appointed him a regent of the State University, in which capacity he served the term of six years. He was long a director of the Brown County Bank. He was one of the directors having charge of the building of the Minneapolis, New Ulm, and Southwestern railroad.

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After his removal to Minneapolis, Mr. Lind was considered very available for Congress, by his Democratic friends, and was nominated in the Fifth Congressional District, and was elected, in 1902, over a tried and sturdy Republican, Hon. Loren Fletcher, by a majority of 2,054. He apparently took but little interest in a new congressional career, and gladly retired to his chosen profession, the law.

Governor Lind was married in 1879 to Miss Alice A. Shepard, a most estimable lady. She was the daughter of a Blue Earth county farmer, and had been educated at the Normal School in the city of Mankato. She was born October 15, 1859. Her father, Richard Shepard, had been an honored soldier in the Union army. The family later removed to California. Miss Shepard taught school at New Ulm, where the acquaintance with her future husband began. To this union there were born four children; Norman, born August 14, 1880; Jenny, born April 2, 1884; Winifred, born August 25, 1890; and John Shepard, born September 14, 1900.

Governor Lind's inaugural message, January 4, 1899, was published as a pamphlet of thirty-seven pages and as the first paper in the Executive Documents of Minnesota for 1898 (St. Paul, 1899). The first third of this message relates to taxation, especially of personal property in bonds or stocks and other securities, and of corporations and railroads. Concerning the great

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disproportion of taxes on realty and personalty, the governor said:

In the early days of the Republic, when the principles were formulated which still control our methods of taxation, visible property constituted the property of the community. Wealth meant houses, lands, implements and cattle. Franchises, bonds, stocks and securities, were practically unknown. Today they constitute according to conservative estimates perhaps eighty per cent of personalty wealth. They are owned by the wealthy. As a rule, they escape taxation, not because they are the property of the rich, but because the assessor cannot get his eyes on them. The producer on the other hand cannot conceal his stock, or the implements of his trade, and they are taxed. The patriotic desire to volunteer tribute to the state is probably no greater in the one than in the other. * * * Judging by comparison and by data from other states, it is safe to assume that the value of the personal property in this state is nearly as great as that of the realty. As returned for taxation, the figures are in round numbers; real property, \$500,000,000; personalty, \$100,000,000. To get at the remaining personal property, or to substitute some other method of obtaining revenue more just and efficient than the present antiquated system of taxing personalty, is the problem. To solve this, I believe with my predecessor that a Commission should be appointed. * * *

The biennial message delivered by Lind on January 9, 1901, at the termination of his service as governor, was published as a pamphlet of twenty-eight pages. It begins with the following statements of the growth and prospects of Minnesota, which in 1899 completed fifty years as a territory and state.

The history of Minnesota spans but a half century. In that brief time the persevering industry of our people has converted an inhospitable wilderness into a land of plenty dotted with homes. Fifty years ago our population was told in hundreds; we now have nearly eighteen hundred thousand. Our soil yielded in the year 1900 not far from one hundred thirty-five million bushels of cereals. Our forests produced two billion feet of lumber. Our mines turned out ten million tons of ore, and the stock and dairy products of the state exceeded forty million dollars in value. Our manufactures, including flour and lumber, approximated two hundred and eighty million dollars (\$280,000,000). Our commerce is carried over 6,794

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miles of railway within the state, and our banking capital, exclusive of private banks, is \$20,000,000. Learning is disseminated by 10,616 teachers employed in 7,303 school houses, which have been erected at a cost to the public of \$14,800,000.

Our past has been phenomenal. Our present is great. The wonderful discoveries and inventions of the century just closed have left the present and future generations an inheritance of potential power over nature and nature's forces which, if extended and applied to the service of man as intelligently in the present century as in the last, cannot fail to produce, in a state so rich in natural resources as ours, results that beggar the dreams of fancy.

I deem it conservative to predict that within this century Minnesota will have a population of ten millions. The comfort and happiness of that population will, in a large measure, depend upon our work and the work of this generation. Our state and our institutions are yet in the formative period. As we build, so will future generations dwell. As we sow, they will reap. The greatness of a state does not consist alone in the material wealth within its boundaries, nor in the numbers of its population. The greatness that appeals to me and that assures its permanency is to be found rather in just and equal laws, in policies, that produce an equitable distribution of wealth, that build homes and conserve the independence and happiness of the people. Our free institutions have aided us in obtaining these blessings in a larger degree than any other people, but for their preservation we must not place our reliance in the mere forms of government or in paper constitutions. They can only be preserved by a public spirit that prompts the citizen to exercise his franchise, and his representative to so discharge his duty as to guard every interest of the state and further the welfare of society as a whole.

The following are pamphlet publications of speeches by Lind:

Remarks on the Wilson Retaliation Bill, in the House of Representatives in Congress, September 8, 1888; thirteen pages.

Free Coinage of Silver, a speech in the House of Representatives, Forty-first Congress, First Session, June 7, 1890; seven pages from the Congressional Record.

Speech accepting Re-nomination for Governor, delivered in the Old Auditorium, St. Paul, September 6, 1900; forty-eight pages.



SAMUEL R. VAN SANT

SAMUEL RINNAH VAN SANT

Fifteenth Governor of the State of Minnesota, was born in Rock Island, Illinois, May 11, 1844. He served in the Civil War, and afterward engaged in lumber business and steamboating, and resided in Minnesota. He was Speaker of the House of Representatives in the State Legislature in 1895; and was governor of Minnesota from January 7, 1901, to January 4, 1905.

SAMUEL RINNAH VAN SANT

FIFTEENTH GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF
MINNESOTA

January 7, 1901, to January 4, 1905.

THE many and varied interests of our state have been well represented in the gubernatorial chair. Ramsey and Sibley personated the early pioneers; Miller, Marshall, and Hubbard, stand for our war memories; Austin and Davis exhibited the legal and judicial interests of the state; Pillsbury and Merriam stood for the general business interests; Lind and Nelson represented the force and power of the Scandinavian element; and Clough stood for the great lumber interests. Thus these great concerns, which so largely intertwined, make the fabric of our state, have each had a representative man in the executive chair to guard their part, if not in action, certainly in sympathy. And now comes our vast rafting and steamboat business on the greatest river of the continent, and receives a representation among the governmental state pilots.

The Van Zandts were Hollanders, and the earliest ancestor known came to this country in 1607, on the ship "Gude Freund," and landed on Staten Island. His

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name was Johannes Van Zandt. The descendants of this progenitor settled on Manhattan Island and scattered from Albany, N. Y., down along the Jersey coast. The New Jersey branch of the family is that one from which the future governor sprang.

For two hundred years the Van Zandts were ship-builders and sailors. It is said that one of the ancestors equipped a privateer in the Revolution, and attacked British shipping on the high seas. It was a patriotic race, and they served in every war for the defense or preservation of the country, including the early colonial wars.

The governor's grandfather was a soldier in the war of 1812. He was also a Methodist clergyman, and five sons were clergymen in the same denomination.

Samuel's father, John Wesley Van Sant, came west from New Jersey in 1837, and settled at Rock Island, Illinois. The family had now Anglicized the name, and spelled it Van Sant. The name was Anglicized soon after the Dutch were conquered by the English, when the name of New York was substituted for New Amsterdam. The family endured all the hardships incident to early pioneer life.

Upon the father's arrival at Rock Island, he began at once the building and repairing of steamboats. He was an abolitionist and a Methodist, and his father before him was an abolitionist. He lived in the neighborhood of Rock Island, working at his naval pursuits, a vigorous and hearty old man, until a few years since,

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when he died at the ripe age of ninety-two years. He had the pleasure, on his ninety-first birthday, January 9, 1901, of seeing his son inaugurated governor of the state. His wife, whose maiden name was Lydia Anderson, survived him, and died, in 1905, at the age of ninety-four years. On the maternal side, he also came of fighting blood, as his maternal grandfather was a Revolutionary hero.

Samuel Rinnah Van Sant was born May 11, 1844, at Rock Island, Illinois. The middle name, Rinnah, came to him from the name of one of his father's near and dear neighbors, Rinnah Wells. It is a Bible name. The name Samuel was for an uncle, a Methodist preacher.

His early youth was spent in attendance at the common school in Rock Island. He had advanced as far as the High School, when the war for the preservation of the Union broke out. Though he was but seventeen years of age at this period, when the first call for volunteers was made, he promptly offered himself to the recruiting officer, but was rejected on account of his age. He made other efforts to enlist, but was rejected for the same reason. Later, having received his father's written consent, in August, 1861, he enlisted in Company A, Ninth Illinois cavalry. He was in active service for over three years, much of the time with Grierson's famous cavalry raiders, where the hardships of the campaigns were unusually severe. He never missed

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a battle, never was wounded, and was never in the hospital.

Indeed, good fortune, smiled upon him in all his military career. He was in the battles around Memphis, Helena, and Tupelo, and in fact participated in every engagement of his regiment while he was in the army. He was the last veteran of the Civil War to occupy the gubernatorial chair in Minnesota, being the tenth one of our eighteen governors to serve both as a soldier and statesman. Probably no other state in the Union has chosen so large a proportion of its chief executives from the ranks of its military heroes.

When the war was over, he was mustered out with his regiment, and, after a visit at his home, he went to Burnham's American Business College, at Hudson, N. Y., where he graduated. But feeling a desire for a still better education, he soon after entered Knox College, at Galesburg, Illinois. He was now ambitious for a regular college course. He completed the preparatory course, and entered as a freshman and passed through that year of the curriculum. He was entirely dependent on his own resources, and he found that a lack of means would compel him to abandon his college purpose. He had already, while at college, learned the ship carpenter and calker's trade. He now engaged in the boat yard business with his father at Le Claire, Iowa. He there built the first raft boat of large power ever constructed solely for towing logs and lumber

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down the Mississippi river, and in honor of his father, named it the "J. W. Van Sant."

The success of this venture led the firm to construct other boats of a similar character, and they became actively engaged in rafting and lumbering on the Mississippi river. It is safe to say that his fleet of steamers towed more logs and lumber to market down the river than any other line of boats ever constructed.

It was during this period (1872-73) that Captain Van Sant met with a series of disasters which would have appalled a heart less brave. One of his steamboats blew up, resulting in a great loss of life and the entire destruction of the boat. Another boat sank in the ice and was lost. These misfortunes left him heavily in debt. The same year his house burned down, and to crown his misfortunes, his only living child died. In reality, he was homeless, childless, and penniless. One of his injured boats he placed between two barges and carried down the river, one hundred and fifty miles, to his own boat ways where he rebuilt it. Nothing of this kind had ever before been done on the river, and all the river men doubted its practicability. However, he was not made of a material to quail under difficulties, a characteristic which has marked his entire career.

This distinguishing quality was noted in his pursuit of the governorship, when, having twice failed, he won on his third effort. It is a noticeable and creditable fact that in all his financial embarrassments, he never,

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at any time, was sued or in any way judicially prosecuted.

In the spring of 1883, for the better managing of the firm's business, Captain Van Sant removed to Winona, Minnesota. Business grew and he was soon very largely engaged in the transportation business, conveying down the Mississippi river logs and lumber to various mills and concerns. In a few years he was operating a dozen or more steamboats between Stillwater and Davenport, Burlington, Keokuk, and Quincy. He was now called "Captain" Van Sant, a brevet title which came to him from the steamboat business in which he had become so prominent. His business integrity, even in his darkest days, was never questioned.

He proved himself a man of great energy of character, and in his new home, with public spirit, he identified himself with the public affairs of the city. He was a Republican in politics, as all his family had been. His first political position was when he was elected alderman, and his course gave great satisfaction. In 1892 he was elected a member of the legislature, in a Democratic district, in which President Cleveland had a majority of 150. Captain Van Sant's majority in the district was 64. In 1894 he was again elected to the legislature. During his first legislative term he was chairman of the State Normal School Committee, and in that position he did much to aid the entire system of Normal Schools. In the session of 1895, he was elected Speaker of the House, receiving every Republican, Demo-

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cratic and Populist vote, an unusual honor. He presided with such marked ability and general approval, that he became well and favorably known throughout the state.

There was no other part of his career of which Captain Van Sant was so justly proud as of his military service. He very naturally, therefore, identified himself with the Grand Army of the Republic. Twice he served as commander of the John Ball Post, of Winona. In 1893 he was elected senior vice department commander of Minnesota. The next year he was elected commander. He devoted himself to every duty connected with this honorable position. It is of record that he traveled over twenty thousand miles, visiting posts, conducting camp fires, and holding memorial services. His influence and activity resulted in bringing the National Encampment of the Grand Army to Minnesota in 1896. No other commander of the Grand Army in the state did so much to advance the growth and interests of that distinguished body, as Captain Van Sant.

His active services in the Grand Army of the Republic, his course in the legislature, and his praiseworthy conduct as Speaker of the House, had already made him a familiar figure in the state. His political speeches did much to endear him to the Republican party and its leaders, for he was always an enthusiastic worker in that cause.

In 1896, Captain Van Sant made his first appearance as a candidate for governor. He was well backed by a good delegation from his own county, Winona.

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Acting Governor Clough, of Minneapolis, John L. Gibbs, of Freeborn county, and Moses Clapp, of St. Paul, were the contestants. Governor Clough won on the first ballot, but Captain Van Sant received 158 ballots, which was considered a very complimentary vote for a new man, and served to introduce him to the state.

In a short speech, after Clough's nomination, with a good humor which won the good will of the convention, among other things, he said:

"I feel it is an honor to have been mentioned for governor in this convention, but I beg to assure you I was not running for governor, I was only walking."

In the campaign of 1898, Captain Van Sant was again a candidate for governor. Hon. William H. Eustis, of Minneapolis, received the nomination; but Captain Van Sant increased his vote over the preceding convention of 1896, having 401 votes.

After the elegant acceptance speech of Mr. Eustis, Captain Van Sant, as one of the defeated candidates, was called before the convention. His speech was so manly, and replete with such good sense and good humor, that we are fully justified in publishing it in full as reported:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:

"As I sat on the platform listening to the speech of my successful rival, the thought occurred to me that if it seemed 'funeral-like' to him while waiting at the Windsor for the result of your deliberations, just imagine my feelings. He won. I lost. I had hoped to re-

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turn to my home occupying the front seat on the band wagon; instead, I go back in the hearse. Again imagine my embarrassment. I prepared a speech to deliver to this convention, but alas, it would not be appropriate for this occasion. Besides, I have been for six months talking to the Republicans of Minnesota, and it does not seem to have done much good. Why should I speak more? But, my friends and fellow workers in the vineyard of the Republican party, I want to say right here and now that from a full heart I thank the four hundred true and tried men who stood by me through thick and thin and to the last, and have only the kindest feeling toward those who opposed my nomination. There was but one trouble—I did not have votes enough. Let me assure you there are no sore spots on me. I most earnestly congratulate Mr. Eustis; he fairly won the nomination. Like him I, too, thought I heard a voice two years ago. I was mistaken. He heard the call; it remains with us to make the election sure. We are all Republicans, but no Republican will carry the flag further into the enemy's camp during the coming fall than I will, unless he has a stronger constitution or greater ability. This will be a Republican year, a glorious year of sunshine; already the warming glow of prosperity is assured. The promise of McKinley and prosperity is a fact, and business conditions are so rapidly and permanently improving that our country is destined soon to become and remain the greatest on the face of the earth.

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"Again I congratulate you, Mr. Eustis, not only upon your nomination but upon the glorious victory that awaits you in November; and to the end that it may be as nearly unanimous as possible let us all return to our homes and go zealously to work burying our hatchets, if we have any, so deeply that they will never again be resurrected. Personally I am satisfied, and am ready for the conflict. I have been carefully taking account of my political assets; I find that all I have remaining is my post office address. If you desire my services in the coming campaign all you will have to do is to address me at Winona. I will fight just as hard as a private soldier, and in the trenches, as if your leader in command. I believe in the grand old party, its success brings prosperity to all the people. No disappointment, however great, can cause me to sulk in my tent; I weigh two hundred pounds, and every ounce of it is for my party and its candidates.

"Gentlemen of the convention, in closing let me assure you that there is some compensation even in defeat. I shall go home to family and friends, to rest and quiet, while Mr. Eustis assumes the strenuous duties of campaign and office. The happier man I."

Captain Van Sant's defeat in the convention was perhaps fortunate for him. Eustis was defeated in the campaign by the ungenerous and undeserved machinations of some of his own party, Hon. John Lind, Democrat, being elected by a majority of 20,184 over Eustis, and over all opponents by 11,398.

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Van Sant's course after this second defeat greatly commended him to his party and to the general public. He took an active part on the stump and spoke nightly for several weeks for the success of his party and its candidates. At the next state convention of his party, Captain Van Sant's time had come, and a large Republican convention, in 1900, nominated him by acclamation and by a rising vote. His method of accepting defeat may well be studied as a model of good sense and good taste under such circumstances. Ambitious politicians can see in it the effects of a wise course under the sting of defeat.

Governor Lind was his opponent. This was the third and last time Lind was a candidate. The canvass was warm, but was conducted in an honorable manner by the two candidates. Van Sant was elected by a fair majority. He received 152,905 votes; Lind had 150,651, giving Van Sant over Lind 2,254 votes.

The vote for the other candidates for governor in this election stood as follows: Bernt B. Haugan, Prohibition, 5,430; Sylvester M. Fairchild, Midroad Populist, 763; Thomas H. Lucas, Socialist-Democrat, 3,546; Edward Kriz, Socialist-Labor, 886.

The ensuing convention, in 1902, re-nominated Governor Van Sant by acclamation. Lind was no longer in the field, and Hon. Leonard A. Rosing was substituted by the Democratic convention as a candidate. Van Sant received 155,849 votes, against 99,362 for Rosing. The latter had been Governor Lind's private secretary.

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Van Sant had grown in favor, and restored Republican supremacy. The governor had a majority over Rosing of 56,487, and thus entered upon his second term with the full endorsement of his party.

The entire gubernatorial vote in 1902 was 270,888. Thomas J. Meighen, People's Party candidate, received 4,821; Charles Scanlon, Prohibitionist, 5,765; Jay E. Nash, Socialist, 2,521; and Thomas Van Lear, Socialist-Labor, 2,570.

During his entire term of four years, Governor Van Sant was diligently urging the enforcement of existing laws, rather than the enactment of new ones. He vigorously maintained the wisdom of the measure known as the Board of Control bill, and insisted that this wise measure should be made permanent. He held, however, that the management of the State University and the Normal Schools should be removed from the Board of Control. It has been found that the affairs of the University and Normal Schools are better conserved in the hands of the Regents and the Normal School Board.

The governor's entire administration was patriotic and business-like, and the conscientious and faithful performance of his duties stand well to his credit. In 1902 he issued a call for an extra session of the legislature. Large property and corporate interests, from the first, opposed an extra session. The prominent and important purpose of this extra session was the preparation and submission of a series of amendments to the constitution as to taxation. Without these proposed amend-

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ments, proper legislation, so much desired, could not be had at the next ensuing regular session. Events proved the wisdom of the governor's action.

But Governor Van Sant's most conspicuous and most distinguished services for the state, while he was governor, were rendered in what came to be known as the celebrated "Railroad Merger" cases, in 1902-3. It had been the settled policy, as declared in the laws of the state for many years, that competing lines of railway should not be merged. Sections 2716 and 2717 of the General Statutes of the state, in most specific terms, forbade the "merging" of parallel or competing lines of railway. These statutes had been held to be constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Three great railroad corporations, the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, all trans-continental lines, running between Minnesota and the Pacific coast, had been consolidated or merged. The effect of the consolidation would be that railway competition between these terminal points would be eliminated. People would have to pay whatever charges would be demanded by the three roads. The only competing road to the coast, the Soo line, could be easily disposed of.

The consolidation had been effected by the ingenious organization of a fourth corporation, called the Northern Securities Company, chartered by the State of New Jersey, and designed especially to acquire the majority of the stock of the Northern Pacific and the Great

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Northern, in return for the stock of the Northern Securities, and to control those roads. The consolidation was made in November, 1901.

The great project was deemed a most dangerous menace to the interests of the people of the Northwest. Public sentiment was fairly aroused. There was a general and vehement demand that the consolidation of the railroads, or the "merger," be at once destroyed. The people of Minnesota were especially insistent that something be done. The merger, like a great triple-headed monster, constituted a most formidable antagonist which it seemed foolhardy to attack. It was plain that only a sovereign state was stout and strong enough to wage battle against it.

Governor Van Sant was the first chief executive in the Northwest to spring into the breach and throw his lance fairly against the strong and mailed armor of the great corporation so menacing to the people and so defiant of their will. January 7, 1902, less than two months after the incorporation of the Northern Securities Company, Attorney General Douglas, by direction of the governor, began proceedings, in the name of the State of Minnesota, against the Northern Securities Company.

The whole country applauded the action most enthusiastically. The audacity of the action was only equalled by its righteousness, but it was popular. The Legislature came to the governor's assistance and gave him an appropriation to carry on the fight.

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The country was so stirred and public sentiment so awakened that President Roosevelt's attention was attracted to the situation. Two months after Governor Van Sant and the Minnesota authorities had moved, the President ordered his Attorney General, the Hon. Philander C. Knox, to proceed against the railroads and the Securities Company, and on March 10, 1902, action was begun by District Attorney Purdy in the United States Circuit Court for the district of Minnesota.

That the State's cases against the corporations fell and came to nothing because they were improperly brought, was not the fault of Governor Van Sant. He gave his Attorney General the assistance of two able and eminent lawyers and under the special law paid them munificent fees, but they erred in presenting their cases. In the first instance they asked leave of the United States Supreme Court to file a bill in that court in a case entitled "State of Minnesota vs. the Northern Securities Company," but the Court refused leave because the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific Railroad companies had not been made parties defendant, it being manifest from the pleadings that these companies and their stockholders were deeply interested in the case. The second case, which joined the railroads as parties, was begun in the State Court, removed to the United States District Court, decided against the State by District Judge Lochren, appealed to the United States Supreme Court, and by that Court dismissed for want of jurisdiction. The Court held that the Federal Courts

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did not have jurisdiction over the case, although this right had been conceded by the attorneys of both sides, but that it was a case for the state courts. Before another suit could be commenced, the general Government's case had caught up with and passed the State's slow moving contention and been decided, after two years proceeding in the case, by the Supreme Court, in favor of the Government. The effect of the decision was that the Northern Securities Company was dissolved and the merger broken up. Thereafter there was no need of the State's proceeding further, because the relief desired had been afforded by the Federal Courts under the Sherman act of Congress, where they had undoubted jurisdiction.

The Northern Securities Company was the most ingenious scheme ever brought into existence to promote transportation monopoly and stifle competition. To Governor Van Sant belongs exclusively the honor and credit of being the first to move against this powerful organization, backed, as it was, by unlimited money, and employing the ablest lawyers of the country. He determined, if possible, to prevent the actual consolidation of these companies, and to enforce the law of the state. When he publicly announced that he would bring suit, he called a meeting of the governors of all the states that were penetrated by these lines of railway and affected by this consolidation. This conference was held at Helena, Montana. Minnesota, Montana, South Dakota, Washington, and Idaho, were represented at this

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extraordinary conference. This body fully sustained Governor Van Sant in his great effort and gave it their unqualified approval. The meeting and resolutions served to arouse public sentiment and invited the attention of President Roosevelt. Thereafter followed one of the most famous legal battles in the nation's history. No party platform has been written by any party since the "Merger" fight, that does not advocate the principles involved in that contest. The grand result was, as indicated, the defeat of the "Merger" company, and the triumph of the state and general government on the principles involved. But behind the courts which tried these cases, there is still a mightier court, the great court of Public Opinion, whose decrees, in the end, are irresistible. The country at large was delighted over the Northern Securities decision. The consolidation of competing railroads will now cease; and also, to a large extent, their common ownership. The open defiance of the people's will will gradually disappear as the result of the great issue inaugurated by Governor Van Sant.

Although Van Sant had been the head and front of the anti-merger battle, the final results of which had not yet been secured, he himself indulged no purpose of being a candidate for a third term. This fact opened the door to other prominent parties who were ambitious in that direction. Judge Loren W. Collins, of Stearns county, was among the first to definitely announce his purpose. He was a lifelong Republican, and had been

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for sixteen years one of the members of the Supreme Court of the state. He possessed fine ability, a spotless character, and had hosts of friends. Twice before Judge Collins had been a candidate for the nomination for governor, but had made no special effort to secure the prize. At this time, however, he publicly announced his purpose and made a strong appeal to his friends for support. To free himself from all embarrassment, he resigned his place upon the Supreme Bench.

Following this announcement, the Hon. Robert C. Dunn, ex-auditor of the state, made formal proclamation of his purpose to be a candidate for the governorship. He made the announcement of this intention in his own newspaper, at Princeton, January 12, 1904. "Bob Dunn," as he was familiarly called, was a gentleman of robust ability, personal integrity and popularity, and had a following which was earnest and enthusiastic. Both of these distinguished competitors publicly announced their acceptance of the Republican state platform of 1902, and stood for the enforcement of the law against the "Merger" of parallel and competing lines of railway. For this question of the "Merger" had become the engrossing political question, made so by the vigorous efforts of Governor Van Sant.

Very unfortunately for both of these prominent and popular men, they soon became engaged in a bitter and personal controversy, such as the state had not yet witnessed between opposing candidates in the same party. The quarrel extended to their respective followers, and

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all else was lost sight of in this exciting personal contention.

The wrangle was carried to the county conventions, and appeared soon in ominous heat in the state convention. It is useless to revive the unimportant charges and counter-charges which were made. They should be consigned to the political waste-basket of forgetfulness. The bitter quarrel which ensued was carried to the Committee on Credentials. But for the coolness, firmness, and evident fairness of Senator Moses E. Clapp, who fortunately was the strong presiding officer of this turbulent body, two conventions would have been the result, as in the case between Kindred and Nelson. No pilot ever conducted his vessel amid shoals and rocks with more dexterity and wisdom, than did Senator Clapp guide this tumultuous body into waters of safety. The final result of the convention was the nomination of Mr. Dunn. But the animosities which had been aroused were carried into the canvass, and Mr. Dunn was unjustly and ungenerously made the victim of defeat. It is to be profoundly regretted that these two strong and able men, by this unhappy contention, are probably not again desirable as candidates, and the state will thereby lose valuable service.

Governor Van Sant is built on steamboat lines. His vigorous physical energy, combined with his strength of mind, makes him a commanding personality. His courage to follow his own convictions is as marked in peace as was his intrepidity in war. His grit, in de-

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fiance of the strong railroad combination in the merger case, exhibited the elements of his character.

There are no snags or reefs in Captain Van Sant's course that can stay his purpose. His boat is always headed up stream, and he makes good time against the current. He has perhaps raised a score or more of sunken steamboats, many of them after they were declared hopeless. He has a "block-and-tackle" method of his own, and difficulties disappear and thus he outwits misfortune. There is sometimes a stormy force about him, referable to his strong physical nature. But a more generous and kindly man never sat in the governor's chair. He loves to grasp the hand of hardened toil, but whether a man is clad in overalls or fine apparel, he is sure to meet with a warm and welcome reception. He is quite an attractive speaker, and is always ready, on all suitable occasions, to give free utterance to his manly sentiments. He is more fluent than eloquent; more solid than brilliant; more inclined to argument and facts than to rounded and polished periods. He is a Methodist, as all his family are and were, and his father was named for John Wesley. He never lost anything in politics by being a member of that church. He is a Republican by inheritance and conviction. He is a man of great benevolence and gives abundantly of his means. He is a temperate man and requires no pledges nor society to refrain him from indulgence. Had he lived in the days of Cromwell, he would undoubtedly have been a Covenanter.

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He is in the meridian of life, about sixty-four years of age. He is about five feet seven inches in height, heavily and solidly proportioned; weighs 190 pounds; has dark hair, a good forehead; eyebrows ponderous; cheekbones somewhat prominent; complexion dark. His mouth and jaw pronounce him a man of firmness and courage, and he has push and persistency, as his history shows. He has health and strength, and will probably be heard from again in the field of politics. During the closing days of his administration the New Capitol was sufficiently finished to permit the Legislature of 1905 to meet in it, and just before retiring from the gubernatorial chair Van Sant removed the executive office to the new building, and was thus the first to occupy the beautiful suite of rooms designed for the governor of Minnesota.

Governor Van Sant now resides in the city of Minneapolis, at the "Hampshire Arms," and is engaged in the land and loan business.

Captain Van Sant was married in Le Claire, Iowa, December 7, 1868, to Miss Ruth Hall. He was married by his brother, Rev. E. A. Van Sant. His wife was of Scotch-Irish descent. Her people on the father's side came from the north of Ireland. Her mother's name was Ross, and she was descended from Major John Ross, who was an officer in the war of the Revolution and also in the War of 1812. Mrs. Van Sant's grandfather was Henry Ross, who was a soldier in the War of 1812. Mrs. Van Sant is a woman of strong charac-

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ter, a devoted mother and loyal wife. In Captain Van Sant's darkest days she was a tower of strength, animating and encouraging him to renewed exertions when fate seemed so adverse. With the return of prosperity and the elevation of her husband, she was equal to the duties of her station. To this happy union, there were born three children. A boy named Paul died at the age of eight months, and a daughter named Gertrude died at the age of two years. The surviving child is named Grant Van Sant, after the great general. He was graduated from the Law Department of the State University, and is now practicing his profession in the city of St. Paul.

The inaugural message of Governor Van Sant to the legislature, January 9, 1901, was published as a pamphlet of twenty pages (St. Paul, 1901). He spoke in high commendation of the State University and Normal Schools, as follows:

Minnesota takes front rank among her sister states along educational lines. Her great University, the pride of all, is second to no similar institution in efficiency and is only surpassed in numbers by one or two others, enrollment of students this year being 3,400. With its efficient president and excellent corps of teachers, it is doing a grand work for the young men and women of Minnesota. Its Department or School of Agriculture has been of incalculable benefit to the farmers of the state. Its needs will be carefully looked after by your honorable body.

The Normal Schools, too, are leaders among schools of like character. The teachers furnished by them have added greatly to the efficiency of our school system, for they are to be found in every part of the state and always doing splendid work. The new building at Duluth is about completed, and it is proposed to open this fifth normal school in September of

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this year. These great institutions are now fully recognized as a necessary part of our system, and for their support in the future I would urge that a certain mill tax be levied upon the plan adopted for the University. This has been done in several states.

The closing paragraph reads thus:

Gentlemen of the Legislature, we assemble at the dawn of the twentieth century. The world has never witnessed greater advancement in any era than has taken place during the past one hundred years. The marvelous discoveries in science, the spread of knowledge, the improvements in governments, the increase in wealth and commerce, challenge the record of the centuries. The people of the earth have been benefited in many ways during this time, but in my opinion the greatest blessing they have received is the proof that a government "of the people, for the people, and by the people," is not a mere figment of the philosopher, but an absolute truth. Chiefest factor in this proof is the existence of the United States. There are few brighter pages in history than those which tell of the origin and growth of our Republic, none more fraught with promise for the future. Sharing in this inspiring history, growth and promise is our own commonwealth, and I wish to congratulate you upon the splendid growth of our young state and the prosperity of all her people, and will express the wish that this legislative session, the first of the new century, may be pointed to with pride and be a model for all future bodies of a like nature that may assemble during the next one hundred years. Let our motto be, regardless of our political belief or bias, that "he best serves his party, who best serves the state," and may God in his wisdom guide you and me in the discharge of our public duties.

In the special session of the legislature called by Governor Van Sant to take action upon the report of the Tax Commission, which had been appointed according to a legislative act of 1901, he delivered a message on February 5, 1902, which was published as a pamphlet of twelve pages (St. Paul, 1902).

Van Sant's biennial message of January 7, 1903, was published in thirty-one pages as a pamphlet and also as the first paper of the Executive Documents of

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Minnesota for 1902 (St. Paul, 1903). Referring to the labor laws of this state, he said:

It would be difficult to find a community where labor troubles are fewer than in Minnesota. While other nations, and many sections of our own country, have been disturbed by serious strikes and lock-outs, culminating in violence and bloodshed and resulting in the loss of many millions of dollars both to labor and capital, our state has been singularly free from them. The inhuman employment of children, the unlawful importation of cheap and pauper labor, has not disgraced the records of any industry in our fair state. Our fortunate condition in this respect is due to our wise statutory provision enacted in behalf of labor, and to the enforcement of these statutes.

Our state received one of the five medals which were awarded at the Paris Exposition as first prize for the best labor laws, so that our enactments on this subject have attracted international attention.

The biennial message of Van Sant at the end of his administration, January 4, 1905, was published as a pamphlet of thirty-six pages (Minneapolis, 1905). On the subject of needed reforms in taxation, he said:

* * * I am satisfied that it will not be possible to enact and pass an entire tax code during a single session of the legislature. Too much opposition is aroused, for a combination of every interest opposed unites against the measure. The failure of the recent extra session confirms this view. However, an examination of the report of the special Tax Commission will disclose the fact that in order to frame adequate legislation and fully meet the requirements for satisfactory tax laws, amendments to our state constitution must be made. With this in view the legislature has heretofore caused certain proposed amendments to be submitted to the people, but indifference has prevailed to such an extent that the requisite number of votes was lacking. That the people should again be afforded an opportunity to pass upon proposed amendments that will give the legislature broader scope in the matter of tax legislation is imperative.

The work of the State Board of Control, which began in 1902, is heartily commended, as follows:

* * * The Board of Control has fully justified all that has been claimed for it. Opposition has practically ceased,

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and in the near future there will be no adverse criticism. All the institutions directly under its charge are in a high state of efficiency, and the great saving to the state has been secured without in any way neglecting the wards of the state. In fact, they were never better and more humanely cared for.

It is matter of the greatest satisfaction to me, as it must be to our citizens generally, that the Board of Control has accomplished so much in so short a time. It is due wholly to the business-like methods employed, and to the faithful and painstaking work of the members of the board. Another factor that has been most essential to success, is the entire divorcement of politics from the management of the various institutions. No man is selected or retained in position on account of his party affiliations or his political influence. * * *

Advising the erection of a statue of Governor Ramsey in the Capitol at Washington, Governor Van Sant spoke eloquently as follows:

This state owes much to the labors, wisdom and patriotism of our pioneers and founders, among whom Alexander Ramsey, our first Territorial Governor, may be justly named as the most eminent for his distinguished public services to the state and to the nation. Before he was appointed by President Taylor to the governorship of the Territory of Minnesota in 1849, he had already represented his Pennsylvania district for two years in Congress. With much experience in public affairs, he came to Minnesota at the age of thirty-three, and through the remainder of his long life for more than half a century, he was the most prominent citizen of this territory and state. As Governor of the state at the beginning to the Civil War, he was the first to proffer troops to President Lincoln; from 1863 to 1875 he was United States Senator from Minnesota; and from 1879 to 1881 he was Secretary of War. His other services to this state in making treaties with the Indians, securing lands for settlement, in laying the foundation of our magnificent school fund, together with his noble personal and private character, were influential not less than his work in national councils, to make him the greatest and most beloved citizen of Minnesota.

Each state of the Union is privileged to place two statues of the citizens whom the state most delights to honor in the National Capitol. Let one of them be the statue of Alexander Ramsey. Now that he has passed from our midst, it will be a most befitting tribute that the legislature, representing all our people, honor his memory with this evidence of love and esteem.



JOHN A. JOHNSON.

JOHN ALBERT JOHNSON

Sixteenth Governor of the State of Minnesota, was born near St. Peter, Minnesota, July 28, 1861. He was of humble parentage and suffered all the inconveniences of early poverty. He became a newspaper editor. In 1898-1902 he was a state senator, and on January 4, 1905, he became governor of Minnesota, which position he still fills.

JOHN ALBERT JOHNSON

SIXTEENTH GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

January 4, 1905

WELLNIGH fifty years of statehood have brought us to that period when Minnesota's native sons begin to appear in the arena of her political life. Hitherto our governors had been born in other states and reared under other influences. But the time had come when one of her own sons, "native here and to the manner born," was to be called to the head of the state.

Born in a frontier cabin, his eyes early familiar with trappers, hunters and Indians, John A. Johnson grew with the young state, a part and parcel of the commonwealth itself. He is distinctly, in his individuality of character and in all his environment, a full-blooded Minnesotan.

The extraordinary scenes of his early youth must have made a vivid impression on his plastic mind. He saw the tomahawk and rifle gleam in a terrible harvest, as neighbors and friends fell victims to the red wave of destruction. He witnessed the devouring swarms of grasshoppers that for three years devastated the val-

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ley of the Minnesota. He beheld companies of Union soldiers, with glittering bayonets, marching southward to the fields of internecine strife. Slowly he saw the country rise to prosperity from the terrible effects of barbaric and civil wars, and it grew as he grew, the two advancing together. Amid such dramatic surroundings he was nursed from childhood to manhood. By all these things and a thousand tender ties is he knit in heart and soul to his native state. He is the only one of our governors who can truly and appreciatingly utter the noble acclaim of Walter Scott, "This is my own, my native land!"

John Albert Johnson was born in a cabin not far from the then hamlet of St. Peter, Nicollet county, Minnesota, July 28, 1861. From this humble home the family was driven into the town for safety during the Sioux Indian raid, in 1862, where they made a temporary residence in a small, frame house. Both the cabin and the house have disappeared before the march of improvement. His family were poor and his childhood was passed amid the inconveniences of poverty, with humble surroundings. His early life can be epitomized in a single line of Gray's immortal Elegy, "The short and simple annals of the poor." For a brief period he attended the common schools of the town.

It is pretty difficult for the boy of today to properly appreciate what young Johnson's school deprivations were. Leaving school before he was thirteen years of age, there were no seventh and eighth grades for him,

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and the present High School system was not in operation. His school days ended when other boys had but fairly begun. He was compelled to earn his bread and contribute to the support of the family, by reason of the moral lapse of his father.

But for a certain innate tendency to industry in the boy, out of school he might have drifted into idleness, and then into crime. But his impulses were right, and his mother's influence was behind him. His first employment was in a grocery store. But in two years he secured a better and more permanent position in a drug store, with Henry Jones, the proprietor, who is still living and often recalls, with pride, the faithful services of the intelligent and active boy. He remained with Henry Jones for nearly ten years, and thoroughly learned the business, and is a good pharmacist today.

It was while washing bottles in the sink and compounding drugs that he developed a taste for reading. With an omnivorous appetite, he read everything within reach. But a kind friend undertook to give direction to his tastes, and well-selected works were lent him, which he devoured with avidity. The small local library now supplied his growing appetite for reading and gave a wider scope to his improving literary taste. During these years he developed an intellectual relish for debate, and participated in local discussions, and was regarded as a local orator.

Meantime, he never forgot his widowed mother, and gave liberally of his means to aid her and support the

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family. The "washing" business had long since disappeared. He had really become the head of the family, the provider and father of the little flock. About this time, for at least a year, he became bookkeeper and paymaster for a railway construction company. While active and industrious, he had developed no special inclination for any particular business, but his mental activity and growing intelligence were remarked by all.

He had been born and raised a Lutheran, but drifted to the Presbyterian church where he became a pretty regular attendant. He sang in the church choir, being possessed of a good tenor voice. He was later made a trustee of the church, and was devoted to its interests.

It is one of the misfortunes of public life that the lives and services of those men who are nominated as candidates for high office are subjected not only to the severest criticism, but to unjust and captious cavilings by antagonistic politicians. Their personal record is not only subjected to the lime-light, but even the private lives of their families are cruelly invaded and exposed to the shameless shafts of party malignity. It was recorded that Johnson's father had, in his day, fallen a victim to dissipation. Some thoughtless political managers, misconstruing the sentiment of eternal justice and generosity which prevades the great heart of the general public, thought to make political capital out of this unfortunate circumstance. This insane piece of strategy proved a veritable boomerang to those who attempted to

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use it, for, tragic though it was, it developed qualities in young Johnson's personal character which placed upon him, so far as he was concerned, a crown of honor, compelling the respect and admiration of all who, like the writer, knew the facts. The character of Johnson's noble mother, and his own character, shone the brighter by reason of the sad fact that one so near and dear, and personally so kind and good, suffered from an incurable alcoholic dementia. Over the fateful error of this kind man's only sin, let the curtain of oblivion tenderly fall.

But if the sire in weakness fell with an infirmity all his own, what tender compensation came to the boy in the care and devotion of his mother! A maiden's love, though fragrant with kisses, may be as fickle as the sea; but a true mother's love never dies.

Mrs. Caroline Johnson, through all her life of sorrow, proved herself a strong and energetic woman, with her vigorous mind and soul keenly alive to the necessities of her little family. She was more than simply a good woman; she was a brave and thoughtful woman, who realized that misfortune had made her the head of the family, and she met the situation with characteristic fortitude. She was physically a strong person, and bequeathed to her son a good constitution. She was left without resources, and for the support of her little family she resorted to that kind of work which has been the dependence of so many women in misfortune, she took in washing. Many people of St. Peter yet remem-

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ber young John's appearance on the street, when, with his little wagon, he brought and carried his mother's washing to her patrons.

America's uncrowned queen today is the true mother. The sturdy blood of the Norsemen flowed in Mrs. Johnson's veins, and misfortunes brought her noble virtues into activity. The world is full of examples of what so many men of force and ability owe to the mother that bore them. It was true of Napoleon, of Washington, of Horace Greeley, and a score of great names that suggest themselves to the mind. The great Emperor said, "The want of France is more true mothers." Men of marked intellectual power and great strength of character inherit these salient features from the mother, and not from the father. The great hereditary law in the transmission of lofty traits works through the mother from undoubted physiological reasons, if from no other cause. "The woman is the mother, the mother is life, and life is love."

Mrs. Caroline Johnson gave her son all she had,—physical and mental vigor. And here it is worthy of note that the two most distinguished men who have come to us from the land of the Sagas, Senator Knute Nelson, and John Albert Johnson, were each the son of a widowed mother; and in each case the mothers were strong and energetic in mind and body, and stamped indelibly upon their offspring those solid traits which were the inspiring cause of their success. These two noble mothers, who in their widowhood so bravely fought

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the battles of life for sons who have honored the state, recall the splendid poem by Joaquin Miller, "The Bravest Battle," given in manuscript by the poet to a visitor at his home. It is so singularly appropriate that I cannot hesitate to quote it in honor of these dauntless Norse mothers:

THE BRAVEST BATTLE.

The bravest battle that ever was fought,
Shall I tell you where and when?
On the maps of the world you'll find it not,
'Twas fought by the mothers of men.

Nay, not with cannon or battle shot,
With sword or nobler pen,
Nay, not with eloquent word or thought
From mouths of wonderful men.

But deep in a walled up woman's heart,
Of woman who would not yield,
But bravely, silently bore her part,
Lo, there is that battle field.

No marshalling troops, no bivouac song,
No banners to gleam and wave,
And oh! those battles they last so long,
From babyhood to the grave.

Yet faithful still as a bridge of stars,
She fights in her walled up town,
Fights on and on thro' the endless wars,
Then silent, unseen goes down.

Oh! ye with banners and battle shot,
With shout of soldiers' praise,
I tell you the kingliest victories fought
Are fought in the silent ways.

Oh! spotless woman in world of shame,
With splendid, silent scorn,
Go back to God as white as you came,
The kingliest warrior born.

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The noble mother of Governor Johnson died in 1906, but not till she had the proud satisfaction of seeing her son achieve distinguished honors. Both of his parents came from distant and grand old Sweden, the home of the Norsemen and the heroes of the sagas. The father, Gustav Johnson, was born of a good family, and resided in Sweden until he was thirty-three years old. He inherited money which he squandered in riotous living. He had learned the trade of a blacksmith. Friends of the family brought him to America on condition that he would reform. Temporary reformation followed, during which he met for the first time a noble and sturdy Swedish girl, named Caroline Haden. She had early lost her parents by disease, and she, too, came to America with friends. She had two brothers, but they had floated away before in the great stream of emigration, and she never met them again. Thus these two lone people met in a foreign land, with no tie behind them save that of a common country and a common language. He never told of his family nor his ancestry; and she had lost her parents and all known relatives. Sympathy and solitude brought them together in St. Peter, and they were married. Their hearts and their misfortunes were blended. Then came several years of reasonable contentment, and in these comparatively happy days four children were born. But in the midst of these pleasant years an unexpected stroke came. Old appetites resumed their sway over the husband, and he gradually fell, never again to re-

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gain his manhood; and, at last, wandering away, he died, and in obscurity was buried.

The fruit of this marriage was three sons and a daughter. The sons are Edward, now engineer at the Hospital of the Asylum for the Insane at St. Peter; John Albert, the governor of Minnesota; and Frederick W., proprietor of the well known "Dakota House" in New Ulm; and the daughter, Hattie, has long been a popular and efficient teacher in the public schools of St. Peter.

Giving good service in the drug store, and working courageously with his mother to support the family, John attained the age of twenty-five years. The local Democratic paper at this time lost its editor and proprietor by sickness. The mechanical department of the paper had been in the hands of H. J. Essler, a practical printer, a man of fine business qualities and integrity of character. He needed an editorial partner to purchase, with him, the paper. The leading local Democrats cast about for a proper man to sit upon the tripod and wield the pen editorial. It was held that young Johnson was equal to anything he had yet undertaken, and four of the leading Democrats of the town advanced the money, and he became, in 1886, joint proprietor with Essler of the *St. Peter Herald*. It was a turning point in John A. Johnson's career. Without newspaper experience, even without experience as a writer in any way, yet with recognized talent, great industry and intelligence, he

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very soon became an editor of force and vigor. In brief, he was a newspaper success.

It requires a good deal of tact and talent to be a successful country newspaper editor. In the great dailies of the cities, there is an editor to each department and he is responsible only for one subject matter; but the country newspaper editor must cover all topics,—in fact, be encyclopaedic. Johnson industriously gathered all the local news and wrote intelligently on general topics. He steadily won his way with his editorial brethren of the state. He was always firm and independent, but pacific, avoiding all hostile demonstrations. This peaceable disposition was characteristic of the man. Had he selected the pulpit for a profession, he certainly would have embraced the doctrine of unlimited salvation, for he is too pleasant and polite to send any unfortunate victim to that place not found on the map geographical.

In 1891 he was elected secretary of the State Editorial Association. In 1893 he was elected president of that body, when only thirty-two years of age. He was noted among the members as the most graceful and easy off-hand speaker in the Association, and that gave him great influence among the members. His good relations with his brother editors was fortunate for him when he became a candidate for governor, for every country paper in the state had for him only kindly words and cordial good wishes.

He had decided military tastes, and for eight years was a member of the Minnesota National Guard, and

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was elected captain of the Second regiment. The regimentals became his tall, erect form. During this period, he became secretary of the Nicollet County Fair Association, and managed it with such vigor and attention to details that it became a great success.

He was a member of that lively order, the Elks, and also of the Woodmen's Association. He was the active spirit in securing local lectures, and, indeed, intellectual entertainments always had his cordial support. He was a good dancer and seldom missed a cotillion, and was exceedingly popular with the ladies. In fact, he was the all-round man of the town, ready for every public enterprise and every innocent diversion. But he never demeaned himself in his personal conduct, but was always a gentleman under all circumstances. Always industrious, alert, gallant and chivalric in his deportment, he had won a high position in the community and in the best social circles. He had the bearing of a man who was a blue-blood by lineage, and yet he was but the blacksmith's son. He had more of the patrician than the plebeian. Nature's mark of distinction was upon him. Yet he was obliging, courteous and urbane to all. He did not expect notoriety, but it came to him by gradual development. He was always modest enough to underestimate his abilities. We believe that he was always surprised at his success. In truth, more men are surprised at their own success than at their failures. John was not pessimistic. Very few successful men plan

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and shape their careers from the beginning, and surely he did not.

That a man so attractive and popular, in a country where every one is a politician, should turn his attention to the science of government, was to be expected. He was a devoted follower of President Cleveland on the revision of the tariff. But his county was overwhelmingly Republican. He himself was early inclined that way, but the tariff question controlled his action. However, in 1888, the Democrats of Nicollet county ventured to nominate him for representative in the legislature. As was expected, he was defeated by Charles R. Davis, a Republican, by a margin of 126 votes in a strong Republican county. But this canvass marked his entrance into the arena of politics, and convinced his friends that he was "available" material for future use.

In 1898, he was nominated for the state senate by the Democratic convention. In the canvass which followed he showed his tact and shrewdness as a practical politician. While his Republican opponent discussed the tariff and other great national questions, with which the senate had nothing to do, Johnson interested himself and the voters with a number of questions of state policy, which were living issues,—the grading of wheat, the manufacture of binding twine, the condition of the state penitentiary, state taxation, and such home matters. The result was his election to the state senate, by a majority of 125. His opponent was Professor C. J. Carl-

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son, of Gustavus Adolphus College, a man of fine standing and culture.

Senator Johnson became very popular with his brother senators, and at once took a high position in that body. He made one speech which commanded state-wide attention. The powers of the Board of Control were under consideration. He maintained that the management of the finances of the State University should be placed under the control of that body. So vigorously did he argue that he carried his point against all opposition in both branches. The prodigality of the Board of Regents has more than once endangered appropriations for the University, and the need of a restraining hand is still felt.

As a senator, in general, he was a genial, good-natured, magnetic man, and as a conversationalist he was very entertaining. The overwhelming Republican majority in the legislature prevented his accomplishing much. His four years in the State Senate, however, appeared to be satisfactory to his constituents, and he was again, in 1903, nominated for re-election. He was defeated by a Swedish Republican, Hon. C. A. Johnson. This defeat proved of the greatest importance to his future career. There was a provision of law that no legislator could be a candidate for any office which was in any wise affected by any law passed while he was a member of the legislature. His defeat, which was by a very narrow margin, was therefore to him a great good fortune. It was subsequently called "Johnson's luck."

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Had he been elected, he would have been ineligible to the office of governor. As it was he appeared, by this defeat, to be retired to the sanctum of the *St. Peter Herald*, with apparently little hope of further political honors. But fortune's political wheel has many a capricious turn, and she touched the "washerwoman's son" with her magic wand. Henceforth he becomes the most picturesque figure of all our governors.

St. Peter has been singularly fortunate in respect to its crop of governors. There is no city in the state, and probably none other in the United States, which has given more men to the governor's chair than St. Peter. Many reasons have conspired to produce this harvest of state officials. In its infant days (1853) Willis A. Gorman was sent by President Pierce to succeed Alexander Ramsey as governor of the territory. Governor Gorman was one of an organized company which purposed to make St. Peter the capital of the coming state. By this company the town was platted on a scale commensurate with its prospective greatness. It was given wide streets, sites for the capitol and other state buildings, and, in general, it was to be a model city. But fate forestalled these ambitious purposes. How the bill which was to make St. Peter the capital was sequestered by the perfidy of one Joseph Rolette, and never again seen, is one of the curious romances of Minnesota's early history. The bubble burst; the Temple of Jupiter was not to be in Gorman's Rome.

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But as some compensation for the loss of the seat of government and its entourage, it has been favored with a distinguished line of governors and other state officials, which has given the place a peculiar distinction in the Commonwealth. Thence came Swift, Austin, McGill, and now Johnson, to say nothing of Gorman, who, for a very brief period, lived in the town. Whether St. Peter has more such seeds within her breast, remains to be seen. A conservative and old fashioned town, she has accepted with dignity and composure the fortune and fame which have come to her, by reason of her gubernatorial fruitfulness. If we aspired to be classical, we might compare this town to the mother of the Gracchi, and she may be as justly proud of her sons.

Many solutions of what has been called St. Peter's "luck" have been suggested. One of these was the fact that the Central Lunatic Asylum, under the old regime, drew thither a Board of Trustees composed of the best men of the state, and thus centered political interest and cabal intrigues at this point. Near by, on the very edge of the city, is the spot where the great Treaty of Traverse des Sioux was made in 1851, which gave to Minnesota its millions of acres and its territorial wealth. There, too, were the early trading posts with the Sioux, and the homes of early and able missionaries. During the Sioux war it was the center of military formations and outfitting expeditions. It was thus, from various causes, a historic spot, and was attractive to men of taste and political ambition. Just below the city, on the old

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"school section," Charles E. Flandrau built the first elegant mansion in the valley of the Minnesota; and where that valiant cavalier and eminent jurist planted his flag, many good men followed. There were such noble spirits as J. K. Moore, editor of the Tribune; John and Harry Lamberton; F. A. Donahower; J. B. and A. L. Sackett; Henry A. Swift; Captain W. B. Dodd; E. E. Paulding; Major B. H. Randall; C. S. Bryant; Dr. A. W. Daniels; Col. Benjamin F. Pratt; and Eggleston Cutting, the "Hoosier Schoolmaster." These are some of the splendid men by whom young Johnson was surrounded in his plastic days. We mention these facts to show that John A. Johnson, in spite of early poverty, was reared under inspiring skies with elevating associates and surroundings.

August 30, 1904, the Democratic state convention was held at Minneapolis, and ex-senator John Albert Johnson was nominated by acclamation as candidate for governor. Captain W. H. Harries was chairman, and Hon. W. S. Hammond nominated Johnson. He read an acceptance speech which was well received. This was absolutely a case of the office seeking the man. The Democratic party of Minnesota had been in diligent search for an available candidate for the executive office. Many personal friends and admirers, remembering Senator Johnson's genial style and decided ability, visited St. Peter and urged him to accept the nomination. But he was not very enthusiastic and looked upon the fight as a forlorn hope. He did not seem at all inclined to

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offer himself as a sacrifice upon the altar of his party. But strong, friendly influences finally won his consent, and he was nominated by acclamation with loud huzzas.

Though the state was overwhelmingly Republican, here again came in "Johnson's luck." Extraordinary conditions existed in the Republican party. The most bitter political and personal controversy which the state has ever seen sprang up. The celebrated Collins-Dunn fight was a battle royal. It divided the Republican strength on the gubernatorial head of the ticket, and it was lost, while the remainder of the Republican ticket was elected by the usual majorities.

The result of the election was a surprise, and to no one a greater surprise than to Johnson himself. Untoward conditions marked the Republican campaign. It was highly defective in management; the pre-convention fight left a bitter sting; and it was charged that railroad and lumber interests dominated the nominee. In the Twin Cities superhuman exertions were made, not to elect Johnson, but to defeat Dunn. Johnson's plurality over Dunn was 7,862. These votes were clearly accounted for in the Twin Cities. In the state he was a minority governor. Thus it was demonstrated that outside of the cities Dunn had carried the state. "Johnson's luck" had made him the Democratic candidate at the propitious moment.

The whole vote for governor in 1904 was as follows: For Robert C. Dunn, Republican, 140,130; John A. Johnson, Democrat, 147,992; Charles W. Dorsett,

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Prohibition, 7,577; J. E. Nash, Public Ownership, 5,810; and A. W. M. Anderson, Socialist-Labor, 2,293. The total vote outside of that received by Johnson was 155,810, leaving Johnson in the whole state in a minority of 7,818.

The Johnson era was now being ushered in, and the good stars which shone at his birth did not forsake him. When he entered the new marble capitol, as the first governor to officiate there, he was absolutely an unknown quantity to the people at large. He entered upon the duties of the high office to which he had been so unexpectedly called with many misgivings as to his ability to meet its requirements. The ego was not largely developed in the new governor. Self-conceit was no part of his mental structure. It sometimes required a good deal of persuasion on the part of his friends to convince him that he had ability to do things. This modesty and reserve was not assumed, it was innate. Upon no public man of whom the writer has any knowledge, has the law of mental and political evolution worked more progressively. With him improvement and development have been in orderly succession, as a flower from a bud. Of all sciences, that of politics maintains the highest public interest. He who materially aids in forming or helping the state, will always take high rank. Politics is the door to statesmanship. By this door Webster entered; by it Clay advanced to the Council Chamber of state. All politicians by no means become statesmen; but all statesmen have been politicians in their day.

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Governor Johnson has all the aptitudes necessary to a successful politician of a high order, and possibly talent enough to advance to the highest grade. . Certainly he has been equal to every position to which he has been advanced. Not in one thing has he yet failed to satisfy his friends and the public. As governor, he was put at once upon his own merits and capacity. The problems of his life were growing larger. His executive duties were performed with marked skill and ability.

In his first message he took hold of the practical questions of the hour, and his recommendations were well received by both parties. The general topics discussed in an annual message are usually too ephemeral in their character to be included in a history of this kind. But there were some things in the message which did not harmonize squarely with Democratic beliefs.

It should be noticed here that while Governor Johnson was elected as a Democrat, he is not the only Democrat who ever carried the state. Henry Hastings Sibley, the man who was the first governor of the state, was of that party. He was elected in 1858 by a very narrow majority. In 1898, Hon. John Lind was elected governor as a Democrat and sat, as such, in the executive chair two years. The rest of the state ticket, however, was Republican then under Lind, as now under Johnson.

In the important matter of appointments, a duty always delicate and exposed to censorious criticism, his methods were fair and his judgment well approved. He was not unmindful of his large Republican support, and

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a number of able men of that party were retained in office; as in the case of the superintendent of public instruction and the dairy department. Heads of departments were told to manage their offices without reference to politics. Surely no executive has been more fair and wary in selecting his official family. The large Republican majority in both branches of the legislature was responsible for the measures passed; but an examination of his recommendations, and of the measures considered and which became laws, shows a remarkable harmony of sentiment between the executive and legislative branches of the government. Caution and common sense were his guides, and general success crowned his executive career. His appointive methods were clearly shown later, when the law establishing a permanent Tax Commission was passed. When he transmitted to the senate the names of Lord, Hall, and McVey, a non-political body, the senate without delay confirmed these appointments by a rising vote.

Johnson's good administration and personal deportment won for him a unanimous re-nomination at the Democratic state convention, in Minneapolis, September 4, 1906. He had made good all his promises, and from every portion of the state the sentiment seemed to be "One good term deserves another." He stood free from what is termed "boss rule," and from timber, mining, and railroad domination. He had taken the department of education out of politics. His Board of Equalization, on his insistence, had with justice largely increased

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the assessed valuation of the iron mines. He had declared for a two cent passenger rate, and for the general abolition of the free pass system, and for lower rates on grain and merchandise. His progressive stand for insurance reform has even commanded national recognition. These, and other kindred reasons, seemed to foreshadow his re-election. Even Republican papers of high repute endorsed the vigor of his administration and the high character of his performance. He had visited nearly every portion of the state, and delivered addresses at county fairs, before schools and colleges, and at Normal School commencements, and the people had become familiar with his presence and magnetic manner, and were proud of their governor.

With these great advantages he entered upon his celebrated canvass for re-election. With great elasticity of constitution, he could endure the severest labor. He visited nearly every one of the eighty-two counties of the state. He called out immense audiences and addressed more Minnesotans than any other governor had ever done. He made almost an incredible number of speeches for a single campaign.

There was something of romance about his career which attracted public attention. The first governor to be born on Minnesota soil; the sudden rise of the washer-woman's son to be the most conspicuous man in the state; his early poverty and his fight against adversity; coming like Lincoln from the cabin to the capitol,—all these things everywhere struck a responsive chord.

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People like their heroes out of the ordinary. A good speaker, with attractive and engaging ways, with an assured racial following, and with the prestige of a previous victory, he entered the contest with a vast advantage over his competitor.

His Republican competitor was Hon. A. L. Cole, of Cass county. It was the misfortune of Mr. Cole that he was not widely known, and he was illy understood. He entered the canvass in very poor health. He had not been in public life enough to make a pronounced record. His purposes and ability were quite unknown to the public. It was charged against him, with very damaging effect, that he had been nominated through the machinations of the so-called "interests," that is the timber and railroad power. His physical condition prevented his making a vigorous and stirring campaign, refuting these unjust assertions. He was a gentleman of good ability, of clean personal character, and a good representative of the northern portion of the state, which heretofore had not had a candidate for governor. He failed, however, to arouse Republican enthusiasm, and thousands of Republicans absented themselves from the polls. In the Second Congressional district, Hon. James T. McCleary assumed a spectacular attitude against "tariff reform," which did much to defeat the Republican state ticket. He refused his constituents the boon for which they pled. The result was not only his own defeat, but carried with it a decided weakening effect upon the state ticket. Handicapped with all these things, Cole

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went to defeat. The result was the greatest personal triumph in the history of the state. The votes were cast for Johnson, not for his party. There is one word which symbolizes Johnson's success,—“personality.” Conjectures that some candidate other than Cole would have been successful, are idle. Johnson's personality and popularity would have brought him victory under conditions then existing, no matter who his opponent might have been. Mr. Cole took his defeat with becoming grace and dignity, and was banquetted by his friends on his return to his home where he was loved and appreciated.

Johnson's total vote was 168,480, against 96,162 for Cole. Johnson's plurality was 72,318. An analysis of this extraordinary vote would lead to some curious discoveries, but to pursue these would be idle. The fact remains that John Albert Johnson received the most flattering vote ever given a candidate for governor in Minnesota. Charles W. Dorsett, the candidate of the Prohibition party, received 7,223 votes; and O. E. Lofthus, of the Public Ownership party, 4,646 votes.

It is pertinent to make some inquiry into the things for which Governor Johnson stands in our state policies, and which have contributed their share, outside of his personality, in making him the popular idol he unquestionably is. In his public addresses and in the administration of the office of governor, one controlling sentiment which he has always enforced is that there must be a strict obedience to the law. True, this is an axiomatic principle which ought to be the guide of every

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chief executive. But it must be admitted that in many special ways he has proved a vigorous enforcer of the law. He has followed precept by example.

Concerning railroad regulation, a matter universally considered to be of vital importance, he has been fully abreast of public sentiment, if not a leader in its thought. He vigorously advocated the two cent fare and the abolition of passes. His official utterances did much to force the enactment of laws putting into effect these provisions demanded by public sentiment. It may be observed that Governor Hughes of New York, a progressive and able man, did not approve the legal two cent rate, but remanded the question to a commission. Governor Johnson in his first message discussed with ability the general question of railroad regulation. He presented a comparative statement of freight rates in this and adjoining states. This revealed the fact that Minnesota was paying about one-third higher rates than Iowa on the south and Canada on the north. The result was his timely letter to the Railroad Commission, insisting on securing a substantial reduction in merchandise rates. He has had the courage to make freight and passenger rates an issue before the people.

His reforms in the insurance department attracted wide public attention. Even President Roosevelt, in a special message to Congress, gave Governor Johnson credit for instituting the most important insurance reforms growing out of the recent insurance exposures. The important Chicago insurance conference, in 1906,

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over which he presided, resulted in great reforms in many states, following his lead on that subject in Minnesota.

He advocated the placing of suburban electric lines under the control of the Railroad Commission. This was done, and the result was that the Board of Equalization increased the tax duplicate not less than two millions of dollars.

Governor Johnson's decided stand in favor of a tax commission, after some misgivings as to the personnel of the commission, became a law. Here he manifested his good sense by taking the whole question of taxation out of politics by the appointment of a non-partisan commission of the highest personal character.

While not a political issue, one policy for which the governor has constantly stood, and for which his friends claim he is entitled to more credit than for any other one thing, is that he has removed from the mire of partisan politics the educational structure of the state. Upon assuming the office of governor, he declared that the educational department, in the persons of the state superintendent of public instruction and those in that office, must be removed from politics. He made absolutely no change in the faculty of the University, except such changes as were suggested by a desire for the elevation of the standard of scholarship of that institution. It is probably true that ninety per cent of the instructors in the University are of a different political faith from that of the present state administration, and yet no man

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has felt that his position was in the slightest degree jeopardized by the incoming of a Democratic administration, and by the appointment of Democrats to the Board of Regents. The result is that the educational people of the state believe that they have in the governor a true and consistent friend rather than a partisan executive.

Governor Johnson's handling of the labor situation on the iron ranges of Northern Minnesota during the summer of 1907, is by many of his friends regarded as a master stroke of diplomacy. Called upon by the officials of two counties to order the militia to the scene of the trouble, he went personally to the mining towns and conferred with officials and strike leaders regarding the labor situation. Later, when the conditions seemed to be at a more acute stage, he conceived the idea of sending trusted representatives to investigate and report to him in detail conditions on the ranges. The result of their report was a proclamation in which the governor outlined to the representative belligerents what their rights were under the law, and he counselled in vigorous terms that they keep strictly within the letter of the law. This proclamation was accepted by both sides to the controversy, and after this time there was practically no violence or threats of violence. He had accomplished by peaceful means what in many states an armed force had been unable to do.

There are many other questions of a subordinate character where he has indicated his convictions as to

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state matters, but they are too ephemeral to be given in this history.

Reference to national questions is hardly to be considered within the scope of these state biographies, but no complete understanding of Governor Johnson's grasp of mind can well be had without a brief reference to his views on questions of national import.

He has long entertained the conviction that real and immediate revision of the tariff is an issue of paramount importance, not only because of its many unjust exactions for the benefit of the few, but because he grasps the intimate relation between the tariff and the trusts, and because it proves a positive restriction to some of our foreign trade.

He greatly prefers state regulation of railways, as against such control by the national government, for he is apprehensive of too great a centralization of power in the general government.

He believes in an income tax and an inheritance tax; and while such taxes are in a measure of a confiscatory nature, yet, because most of our great fortunes have been mainly acquired through unjust and unequal special privileges, they may, on such grounds, be considered justifiable.

He believes in the largest possible measure of state rights consistent with efficient national administration. He is a believer in the freest trade relations with Canada, but is opposed to the principle involved in acquiring distant outlying dependencies, such as the Phi-

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lippines. He has no pet political fad. He is an earnest, progressive American, and a strong believer in American institutions and a grand American destiny.

Governor Johnson's outlook for his state and country are always of the optimistic type. He believes in the certainty of the nation's grand future, as he believes in the Christian's hope and anchor of the soul. The writer calls him a symmetrical man of rare endowments, and a worthy leader among those to whom it is given to shape the progress of the country.

In his political beliefs, so far as national questions are concerned, he should be denominated a Democrat,—a Jeffersonian Democrat, if you please, if that description settles anything definite in the public mind. If President Roosevelt is defined, with some restrictions, as a Republican, so also may Johnson be defined as a Democrat. There is a large degree of sanity in Johnson's mental composition, which prevents him from being carried away by political vagaries, such as government ownership of railroads by state or nation. Self-poised and clear-minded, such chimeras do not appeal to his sober judgment. It is, therefore, safe to say that, by the very conditions of his nature, he is a conservative Democrat. He cannot be enticed into the fields of folly.

It may be observed here that the two great parties, whether they admit it or not, are moving quite on parallel lines as to many great questions. If a leader possessing the public confidence could be found, we might

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have an era rivalling that of James Monroe, who received the entire electoral vote except one; and that vote was given with the statement that no man, save the "Father of his country," should have the honor of receiving the unanimous electoral vote. The line between the parties at this time is much like the separation between the Methodist churches, North and South, a difference without a distinction of creed or faith. It is traditional antagonism which chiefly differentiates between the two parties; and allied to this, the venal one of who shall distribute the rewards of victory.

Though thousands of Republicans in this state voted for Johnson, it was solely on grounds of personal admiration and confidence, and not because he varied a scintilla from recognized Democratic doctrines. In his early youth he leaned to the Republican party; but, tariff revision becoming, in his judgment, of paramount importance, he followed Cleveland, and since has consistently cast his lot with the party of Jefferson. He is always Democratic, but never demagogic.

We have here noted and summarized the policies of the state and nation for which Governor Johnson may safely be said to stand. They are the expressions of his thought and beliefs on current public questions. By these he may be judged politically. But if you will inquire deeper into the causes of his remarkable popularity and success, it is not so much political convictions as his fortunate personality which is the basis of his achievement. He is not endowed with any fabulous powers or

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superhuman virtues,—he is simply Johnson! His speeches will not fill the volumes of American eloquence; but his graceful manner, attractive ways, and evident sincerity, are better than declamation. There are certain characteristics and qualities in a 'public man which have a powerful influence as to his popularity. It is quite impossible to analyze or name them. It is neither face, form, speech, style, mode or manner; it is the *tout ensemble*,—the whole taken together. Webster's dignity chilled; Clay's attractive manners won the world. The old Latin aphorism, *poeta nascitur, non fit*, is equally applicable to native, graceful manners. They are born to the man, not made. Nor could any man be more innocent of affectation, that horrid assumption of a grace not possessed.

His speeches carry substance and weight without the actor's part or any stage display. He has clear-cut ideas on all important questions of the time, and delivers them in a way that commands his audience and rivets complete attention. Indeed, he must be considered a happy public speaker, always satisfying and gratifying his hearers. He has the fault of not preparing his speeches with care, which comes from his natural facility of easy speaking. Those who have been early students, with scholarly attainments, are generally careful in preparation, as was Cushman K. Davis; but he who has the grace of easy speaking is apt to be negligent in preparation.

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Governor Johnson is always accessible and sociable, yet dignified; kind and generous to all; cautious, but not timid; constant to his principles and his party, but tolerant of the feelings and views of a political opponent. He has great skill in reading men, and is quick to seize an advantage. He is not indolent, but full of activity. There is an ever ready sense of humor, easy and of high relish, without any effort to shine, and invective is quite unknown to his manner of speech. In fact, he is born to be a successful American politician. In this rare and unique combination, we find the elements of his popularity and much of the reason why he is the Democratic governor of a Republican state.

For a moment we turn with pleasure from the contentions of politics to the more elevating and ennobling fields of literature. No more distinguished tribute could be paid to rising ability than the conferring of the high degree of LL. D., on Governor Johnson by the University of Pennsylvania, June 19, 1907. The recognition of this growing man by this ancient university was one of those acts which carry inspiration and hope to honorable ambition. Literature, from one of its high stations, confers honor upon a son of the West who had never, for a moment, tasted the advantages of high education. John A. Johnson and Abraham Lincoln were schooled in the same great university,—that of the world,—and their scholarship was about the same

Provost Harrison, of the University of Pennsylvania in his presentation of the Governor for the degree, along

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with his introduction to the students, made the following flattering address. It is so appropriate and in such fine taste, that we quote it.

We have invited to be present John A. Johnson. His parents come from distant and heroic Sweden, home of the Norsemen and Sagas. Migrating to America, they moved westward to the wild and limitless plains across which still roamed the braves of the Sioux and the Dakota. Here this son was born, and, as he grew to manhood, aided to transform uncultivated fields and tangled forests into agricultural communities and municipal life. Then he learned the art of printing, then journalism, and afterwards politics. This was the realm where his ascendancy prevailed. He won the regard of the people by his industry and his integrity, and by his devotion to their interests. They conferred upon him the office of State Senator. Their confidence was strengthened as they observed his public career. Government, he declared, is but a political device whereby all men are insured the fullest opportunity to avail themselves of the commercial and social conditions by which they are surrounded, or to create new forces from nature which will add to individual prosperity. His ultimate election and re-election as Governor of Minnesota came by a natural law of political evolution.

Of all sciences, that of politics is supreme. It furnishes the basic ideas out of which law, order and civilization grow. Organized knowledge—mathematics, physics, chemistry and mechanics—follow only its recognized establishment. They cannot precede it. He who helps to form or maintain a State must always rank with the noblest figures in history. Men of this type create or preserve the human foundations on which art, science, culture, morality and religion are built. It is difficult to overestimate their relation to our progress.

We accord honor to one of the master builders of the imperial Northwest. For the civic virtues that he has displayed as printer, journalist, and statesman, we, the Trustees, present him to you that he may receive the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Governor Johnson then delivered an eloquent address on "The University Man's Opportunity." This oration presents the governor in a new light, exhibiting his taste for the refinements of literature and the wide extent of his self-culture.

JOHN ALBERT JOHNSON.

At the commencement of his second term in the midst of unwonted success we part company with Governor Johnson. We have pursued his interesting history and remarkable career from the cabin of his birth to the marble palace of our governors. The story of his struggles and his success is a wonderful tale, the political romance of our state. With no known ancestry, whether peasant, pirate, or lord, he was a Swede waif cast by chance into the great American alembic, and stamped, like true coin, with the American superscription. Since then, his rise has been truly phenomenal, and at this time he appears to be the foremost man in the politics of the state.

To discuss his future would be purely problematical. Yet in his early prime, only forty-seven years of age, with a good constitution, fine natural endowments, popular manners, courteous and urbane, a smart tactician, the idol of his party, and crowned with the halo of success, it would seem that his horoscope is very auspicious.

There is no telling what the gods will do for a favorite child when once they set their jeweled fingers to reeling off his destiny.

His influence on his party in the state has been to inject some living blood into coagulated veins. He is to them the man of hope, the star on their horizon. But can any other man step in and hold what he has done? His influence appears to be so purely individual that we may well ask, When he is gone, will not the fabric he has reared, dissolve? The English Commonwealth died

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when Cromwell died. The Governor has individualized his party; he is the party. His good sense, however, will save him from trifling with his kingship. For ourself, we have faith in this virile son of Minnesota that he will fully vindicate his right to a high niche in the Pantheon of the state's best men.

In personal appearance Johnson is tall, six feet and a little more in stature, with the slightest possible stoop. He is rather loose-jointed, and somewhat Lincolnnesque in his physical make-up. He has an ample forehead, and expressive eyes; his ample jaws are smooth shaven, and has a decidedly pleasant facial expression. His hair is brown, and his mouth is of the Henry Clay style. He has a smile which is very much his own, and which is known as the "Johnson smile." He weighs one hundred and eighty pounds.

Editor Johnson was married at St. Peter, June 1, 1894, to Miss Elinore M. Preston. She was born in Wisconsin, but later her parents moved to Rochester, Minnesota, where they died. She was raised by the Catholic Sisters, and was educated at their school and in their faith in that city. Subsequently she went as a teacher of music and drawing to the parochial school in St. Peter. Here Mr. Johnson saw, wooed, and won her as his bride. She is a modest, cultured and excellent lady, of fine manners, much admired in her circle, and a worthy companion of her distinguished husband.

JOHN ALBERT JOHNSON.

Governor Johnson's inaugural message to the legislature, January 4, 1905, was published as a pamphlet of twenty-one pages (Minneapolis, 1905). In its concluding paragraph, he said:

We are assembled today in the new capitol of the state. This splendid edifice is a monument to the energy, prosperity and culture of our people. Whatever opposition may have existed to its erection in the past, the people are now proud that its glittering dome overlooks the capital city of our beloved state. This building is the property of the state, and was provided as a place in which should be transacted the business of the people. As their servants, you and I are commissioned to perform the duties of our several offices in their interest. We should here dedicate ourselves to that service, pledging our zeal, our fidelity and our honest purpose in an endeavor to do our duty to the people who have reposed in us their confidence and their trust. We should build not for today alone, but that future generations may reap the reward of honest, patriotic effort. If there must be sacrifice, let it not be at the expense of the state. If we must regard political considerations, let us also remember that political parties are but the vehicles of good government, and that you and I will best serve the parties of our choice by a conscientious effort to serve but one master, and that master the sovereign people of the state of Minnesota.

The biennial message delivered by Johnson to the thirty-fifth legislature, January 9, 1907, was published in fifty-six pages as a pamphlet, and as pages 585-640 in Volume I of the Executive Documents of Minnesota for 1906 (Minneapolis, 1907). The first quarter part of this message deals with questions of taxation, making the following important recommendations:

I would most urgently recommend legislation providing for the establishment of a permanent tax commission, which shall be empowered to make a careful and scientific study of this question and report from time to time, both to the executive officers and to the legislature.

The commission should visit the several counties of the state annually, or at least biennially, and should be empowered to supervise the work of local assessors and boards, and provide rules to facilitate the performance of the duties of

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assessors and otherwise aid them in the work of securing equal and uniform assessments. * * *

Concerning a proposed state department of mines, the governor said, in part:

By reason of the vast interests of the state in mines and mineral properties, I herewith submit to you the advisability of organizing a new state department devoted to that subject and the creation of the position of state commissioner of mines, giving such official powers and duties similar to those of the commissioners of insurance, labor, railroads and warehouses, dairy and food, game and fish, or the superintendent of banks. * * *

* * * * *

The fact that Minnesota today holds over one-half of the estimated iron ore reserve of the United States, and that our state school and other public institutions have greater mineral holdings than those of any other state in the Union, show the propriety and public value of such a department to the state, even if our past experience did not prove the necessity of additional state executive authority and machinery in the regulation and protection of its mineral interests.

Other addresses of Governor Johnson, published as pamphlets, are these:

Commercial and Political Integrity, a speech delivered before the Merchants' Club of Chicago, February 18, 1905; twenty-eight pages (Minneapolis, 1905).

Minnesota and the Railroads, a speech before the State Municipal League at St. Paul, January 10, 1906; eight pages.

An Address at the Dedication of Minnesota Memorials in the Vicksburg National Military Park, May 24, 1907; published with the Report of the Minnesota Vicksburg Monument Commission, in its pages 50-52.

Commencement Address at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, June 19, 1907; thirty-one pages. On this occasion Governor Johnson received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from this University.

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